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True Religion: a lost portrait by Albert Szenci Molnár (1606) or Dutch–Flemish–Hungarian intellectual relations in the early-modern period

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True Religion: a lost portrait by Albert Szenci Molnár (1606)

or

Dutch-Flemish-Hungarian intellectual relations
in the early-modern period

1. The Hungarian broadsheet of True Religion

The Life of Albert Szenci Molnár

Albert Szenci Molnár (Albert, Miller of Szenc, in Latin Albertus Molnar Ungarus, in Hungarian Szenci Molnár Albert) was one of the most fascinating and important scholars and humanists who lived in early-modern Hungary.¹ (See image 1.) He was born on 30 August 1574 in Szenc (nowadays Senec, Slovakia), a small market town near Pozsony (Pressburg, nowadays Bratislava), the capital of that part of the early-modern kingdom of Hungary which was under Habsburg rule. His father was a wealthy miller, originally from Transylvania, who became impoverished at the time that his son was growing up. Albert wanted to be a Protestant preacher, but the family was not able to support their talented son's studies. Nevertheless, he began his schooling in Szenc and continued it in Győr.

All his life Szenci Molnár combined his intellectual studies with other, more practical activities. He arrived in the town of Gönc in 1586, just when Gáspár Károlyi had started the major task of printing the first complete Hungarian translation of the Bible, which had been made under his direction. As a student, Szenci Molnár assisted Károlyi in his printing work and in so doing learned the skills of book-printing in Hungarian. Two years later he left Gönc to study in Debrecen, the famous centre of Hungarian Protestantism. After a brief career as a schoolteacher in Kassa (nowadays Košice, Slovakia), he went in 1590 to Dresden to study Theology, and after that moved on to Wittenberg and Heidelberg. He finally appeared in Strasbourg in 1593, where he finished his studies in 1595 and took the degree of *Baccalaureus*. He was forced to leave the town because of his Calvinist beliefs and set off on his *Grand tour* to Switzerland and Italy.

¹ Tibor Klaniczay: *Reneszánsz és Barokk. Tanulmányok a régi magyar irodalomról*. Budapest 1961. 324, 334; *A magyar irodalom története 1600-tól 1772-ig*. Tibor Klaniczay ed. Budapest 1961. 67-81. On Szenci Molnár's life, see: *Lajos Dézsi: Szenczi Molnár Albert naplója, levelezése és irományai*. Budapest 1898; Szenci Molnár és a magyar késő-reneszánsz. Sándor Csanda – Bálint Keserű eds. Szeged 1978; *Sándor Iván Kovács: Szenczi Molnár redivivus*. Budapest 2000.

He next visited the famous Calvinist theologian Théodore de Bèze (Theodorus Beza, 1519-1605) in Geneva, centre of European Calvinism. He always considered Beza his spiritual father. Two years later, in 1597, he appeared in Heidelberg, where he lapsed into poverty. For a couple of months in 1599 he returned to Hungary, but was unable to find financial support there for his literary plans and therefore returned to Germany. This was the beginning of the most productive period in his life. For more than ten years he studied Theology and Philology at the schools of Herborn, Heidelberg, Altdorf and Marburg and wrote, translated and published his most important works, which were the source of his later fame.²

Szenci Molnár played a crucial role in establishing links between the Hungarian Calvinist Church and kindred spirits in the German lands, France, Switzerland and the Dutch Republic.³ After returning to Heidelberg in Germany in 1600 he became a part of the *respublica litteraria*, the congenial network of European intellectuals.⁴ Because of his support for the Calvinist cause through his translations and publications he was admitted to the ranks of those who committed themselves to confessional politics in Europe. The Hungarian preacher, teacher and translator became a crucial part of the invisible network of Protestant intellectuals which stretched all over Europe from the western shores of England as far as the Carpathian mountains of Transylvania. The publication of his works was generously sponsored by German aristocrats who supported the promotion of Calvinism abroad. This support was also the result of his fruitful connections with the contem-

² For a modern edition of the works of Szenci Molnár, see: Szenci Molnár Albert válogatott művei. Tolnai Gábor irányításával sajtó alá rendezte Vásárhelyi Judit. Budapest 1976; Szenci Molnár Albert naplója. András Szabó ed. Budapest 2003. A new edition of his letters is in preparation, see: András Szabó: Szenci Molnár Albert levelezésének új kiadása. In: „mint az gyümölczös és termett szőlöveszszöc...” Tanulmányok P. Vásárhelyi Judit tiszteletére. Ágnes Stemler - Varga Bernadett eds. Budapest 2010. 21-30.

³ Graeme Murdock: Calvinism on the Frontier 1600–1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania. Oxford 2000. 54.

⁴ Lajos Dézsi: Szenczi Molnár Albert naplója, levelezése és irományai. Budapest 1898; József Turóczi–Trostler: Szenczi Molnár Albert Heidelbergben. In: József Turóczi–Trostler: Magyar irodalom—világirodalom. Vol. 2. Budapest 1961. 109–155; Judit P. Vásárhelyi: Eszmei áramlatok és politika Szenci Molnár Albert életművében. Budapest 1985. (Humanizmus és reformáció, 12), 58–62; Jörg Dötsch: Respublica literaria. Zu den humanistischen Beziehungen Ungarns zur Kurpfalz um 1600. Studia Caroliensia 4. (2004) 5–16.

porary West European intelligentsia, especially with the Dutch. Hence one cannot find a better example of the early-modern intellectual communication between Dutch and Hungarian humanists than that of Molnár and his Dutch friends in Germany and the Netherlands.

Description of the recently found broadsheet *Icon religionis* (1606)

Théodore de Bèze – Szenci Molnár Albert (transl.): *Icon religionis*. Augustae Vindelicorum, 1606, impensis Dominici Custodis Christophorus Magnus.

The engraving and the text on the broadsheet in the Rijksmuseum measure 410 mm by 241 mm (41 cm by 24, 1 cm).⁵ (See image 2.) The text, in Latin and Hungarian, is printed in letterpress in black and red. The picture features a half nude, winged female personification of True Religion. She is dressed in rags and wears a crown of stars on her head, which is encircled by a star-shaped halo. Clouds can be seen around the upper part of her body, as if to emphasise her role as intermediary between heaven and earth. Under her bare feet lies the personification of Death, depicted as a cowed skeleton. In one hand he holds a broken scythe, while the other he raises defensively against Religion. She leans her left arm on a rough-hewn cross, while in her right hand she holds an open book displaying the text: *Evangelium pacis aeternae* (The Gospel of eternal peace). In her left hand she holds an empty bridle, which hangs almost to the ground. The background of the picture

⁵ [Albert Szenci Molnár]: Praestanti virtute ac vitae integritate conspicuo viro Dn. Ioanni Bekesi, ciui & negotiatori Cassouiensi : Dño & Benefactori suo Colendo et amando, Albertus Molnar Szenciensis, officij ergò D D. dö [!]. Augustae Vindelicorum [Augsburg] 1606. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-31.624. Neither the picture, nor the broadsheet is catalogued in the Hollstein edition of Custos' works. *Friedrich Hollstein*: German engravings, etchings and woodcuts. Cranach – Drusse. Vol. VI. Amsterdam 1959. It is neither listed in: *Károly Szabó – Árpád Hellebrandt*: Régi magyar könyvtár. [Hereafter: RMK] I-III. Budapest 1879-1898, nor in: Régi Magyarországi Nyomtatványok 1601-1635. Borsá Gedeon, Hervay Ferenc és Holl Béla szerk. Budapest 1983. [Hereafter: RMNy]. Little has been published about the Hungarica in the Rijksmuseum. One example: *Cornelius Adriaan Burgers*: De verovering van Boeda-Pest en de geschiedenis van een damastpatroon. In: Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum 17. (1969) 126-134.

is filled by a battlefield, with massed ranks of soldiers, a coast with a naval battle, and a city in flames. The soldiers drawn up can be identified as Spanish, thanks to their characteristic “Morion” helmets and their tents with the Spanish armour, which are placed in front of them. A Latin dialogue, consisting of the questions of Homo (Man) and the answers of Religio, is printed beneath the picture, with a Hungarian translation next to it. The work is dedicated to Iohannes Békési (Békési János), citizen and councillor of Kassa.

According to the title, the well known artist of Flemish descent, Dominicus Custos of Augsburg (Antwerp, 1560- Augsburg, 1615) engraved both picture and text. In the early 1580s Custos moved for what were probably religious reasons from Antwerp to Augsburg, where he married the widow of an engraver, Bartholomäus Kilian, in 1588.⁶ He set up a strictly run engraving workshop there, based on the Antwerp model of his father, Pieter Balten(s) or Petrus Baltazar Custos, employing his sons Raphael, David and Jacob as assistants. His stepsons, Lukas and Wolfgang Kilian, were also apprenticed to him and became famous engravers themselves. The flourishing workshop of Custos played a seminal role in the spread of engraving in Germany. He was also the first engraver to produce a series of images of European rulers.⁷ His publishing company issued engravings of individuals, emblem books and illustrated literary and theological works. Custos’ engraving technique, as can be observed in the picture on the broadsheet, reveals the influence of the Prague style and Dutch Mannerism, especially the example set by the Dutch artist Hendrick Goltzius.

Fortunately, we know quite a lot of detail about the creation of this print and its makers. From Szenci Molnár’s extant correspondence we can state that the print itself was called *Icon religionis* at the time that it was composed, and that it was intended as a gift to his patrons. Its genesis can also be dated quite exactly: between 14 and 28 May 1606. The German humanist Joannes Thomas Freigius wrote in a letter to Szenci Molnár, dated 14 May

⁶ <http://www.teeuwisse.de/catalogues/selected-works-xii/a-fantastic-head-in-the-style-of-arcimbollo.html> (Accessed on 1 November 2013.)

⁷ *Maria Maria Lanckoronska*: Die Augsburger Druckgraphik des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts. In: Augusta 955-1955. Hermann Rinn ed. München 1955. 347.

1606, how much fifty copies of this print would cost.⁸ Christophorus Magner (Magnus), a printer who also worked in Augsburg like Custos, published the broadsheet. Two weeks later, on 28 May, Custos wrote that the work was finished, and sent Szenci Molnár an example as proof.⁹

An edition of fifty prints is an unusually small amount for a publication of an early-modern broadsheet, especially with such an elaborate, quite large, and thus rather expensive engraving. We have no information on whether this print ran to more than fifty copies or whether Custos re-used or re-worked the original copper plate afterwards. Nor do we know what became of this plate, or if it ever came into the possession of the author himself. Some prints of the original edition were still in the possession of the author three years later, because on 2 March 1609 he sent one to Georg Henisch, an Augsburg teacher and physician of Hungarian descent.¹⁰ We have no information about the fate of any of the other copies.

Nothing remains to tell us about the provenance of the print in the Rijksmuseum. It is possible that it came to the Netherlands as a gift from Szenci Molnár to one of his many Dutch acquaintances or that he presented it to someone during his visit to the country in 1624, but we have no proof of this. We can state on the basis of an old accession mark that the art work became a part of the collection of the Rijksmuseum some time in the 19th century, but we possess no other information about the exact date of acquisition.¹¹ Nor do we know if other examples of this broadsheet remain in Dutch or foreign collections. As far as we know, the print in the Rijksmuseum is the only remaining copy.

⁸ Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára [Hereafter: MTAK], Ms. K 787, fol. 135. Published as: *Décsi, L.: Szenci Molnár op. cit.* 192. Custos and Molnár could have worked together as early as 1605. See the letter of Georg Remus to Szenci Molnár, 1605. MTAK Ms. K 787, fol. 119v.; *Décsi, L.: Szenci Molnár op. cit.* 190. See also: *Mihály Imre: Szenci Molnár Albert arc(kép)másai.* Debrecen 2009. (Református Művelődéstörténeti Füzetek 2. szám) 34.

⁹ Letter of Georg (György) Henisch to Szenci Molnárnak, 2 March 1606. MTAK Ms. K 787, fol. 220r.; *Décsi, L.: Szenci Molnár op. cit.* 301.

¹⁰ Letter of Dominicus Custos to Szenci Molnár, 28 May 1606. MTAK Ms. K 787, fol. 138r.; *Décsi, L.: Szenci Molnár op. cit.* 194.

¹¹ R: MVS = 's Rijks Prentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. = Lugt 2228. About the mark: *Frits Lugt: Les Marques de Collections de Dessins & d'Estampes.* Amsterdam 1921. <http://www.marquesdecollections.fr> (Accessed on 13 September 2011.)

The broadsheet in literature history

The recently discovered broadsheet is an exceptional piece, as it can be considered one of the oldest Hungarian language broadsheets printed in Western-Europe. There are very few similar broadsheets, pamphlets or prints with a Hungarian text known to us from the beginning of the 17th century, which were printed outside Hungary. As an exception we can note the portrait of Szenci Molnár, engraved by Heinrich Ullrich in 1604, which bears the text *Hogy ha az Vr Isten Vagyon mivelünc, Vallyons Kiczoda támadna ellenünk?*¹² (If God is with us, who can be against us?) (See image 1.) The oldest known print of a picture with a text in German, Latin and Hungarian is a map of the siege of Esztergom (1594).¹³ The text was written by János Ruda (Ioannes Ruda), the Hungarian herald and court historian of King Rudolf I of Hungary (1572-1608), who made the original drawing for the map,¹⁴ which was also engraved by Custos in Augsburg. Because of its large production of prints related to Hungary and Transylvania we can consider Custos' workshop one of the main sources of the image of early modern Hungary in Western Europe. He was encouraged in this by his patrons, the Fugger family, who sponsored the war against the Turks in Hungary, and by Archduke Ferdinand Habsburg, who took part in this war himself.¹⁵

As a famous but lost work of Szenci Molnár, in the last two centuries many Hungarian scholars have written about it or tried to trace a copy. Péter Bod wrote about its existence in an unpublished study about Szenci Molnár as early as the 18th century.¹⁶ As he wrote about a picture with verses it is possible that he was the last in

¹² Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Inv.-Nr. A 14275, Magyar Történelmi Képcsarnok, 91/1911.Gr. See also: *Gizella Cennerné Wilhelmb*: Magyarország történetének képeskönyve, 896-1849. Budapest 1962.123.

¹³ Aigentliche Contrafactur, und warer Bericht des königlichen Schloss Gran ... wie diss Orth und Vestung ... diss jetzt lauffenden 1594. Jahrs beläget worden. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár [Hereafter: OSZK] App. M. 235. See: *Gizella Wilhelmb Cennerné*: Der Augsburger Kupferstecher Dominicus Custos und Ungarn. in: *Folia Archeologica* 67. (1966) 227-249.

¹⁴ Ibidem; *Károly Lyka*: Adatok művészetünk történetéhez. *Művészet* 4. (1905) 346.

¹⁵ *Wilhelmb Cennerné*, G.: Der Augsburger op. cit. 229-230.

¹⁶ *Péter Bod*: Gellius Molnarius, Teleki Téka, Marosvásárhely, Romania, 1511 4r. Manuscript, quoted by: *Dézsi, L.*: Szenczi Molnár op. cit. XVII.

Hungary ever to see it. However, it is more likely that he based his description on the content of Szenci Molnár's extant correspondence, which he had studied thoroughly. In 1898 Lajos Dézsi published this correspondence and pointed out the references to this print in Szenci Molnár's letters. Other Hungarian scholars, such as József Waldapfel¹⁷, Judit Vásárhelyi¹⁸, András Szabó¹⁹, Noémi Viskolcz²⁰, Gábor Kovács²¹ and Levente Juhász, together with Sándor Fazekas²² and others, analysed the text and the picture on the broadsheet, without ever having the chance of studying it. They were, however, all convinced that it was a key work for the understanding Szenci Molnár's oeuvre and its influence on early-modern Protestant culture in Hungary and Transylvania.

The main question of this study will be: Why did Szenci Molnár issue this broadsheet? What were the background and meaning of this picture and text? What was the reception of this work? What can it and its reception tell us about the development of early-modern political and cultural relations between the Dutch, the Flemish and the Hungarians in the Dutch Republic, the kingdom of Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania?

The background to the figure of True Religion

The *emblem* or emblem known as the "image of True Religion" was an important and frequently used symbolic figure in early-

¹⁷ József Waldapfel: Szenczi Molnár Albert Religio-emblémája. Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények [Hereafter: ITK] 42. (1932) 431–432.

¹⁸ Judit P. Vásárhelyi: Szenci Molnár Albert Institutio-fordítása. In: *Albert Szenci Molnár: Az keresztyéni religióra és igaz hitre való tanítás*, Hanovia MDCXXIV. (facsimile edition, Bibliotheca Hungarica Antiqua; 43.) Budapest 2009. 5–29.

¹⁹ András Szabó: Szenci Molnár Albert Kálvin-fordítása: Egy különleges címlap. In: Szenci Molnár, A.: *Az keresztyéni religióra*. op. cit. 31–51.

²⁰ Noémi Viskolcz: „Vagyon egy kis Varos Moguntian innen.” Hanau és Oppenheim szerepe a magyar művelődéstörténetben. A Ráday Gyűjtemény Évkönyve 9. (2005) 80–81.

²¹ Gábor (Váci) Kovács: Németalföldi párhuzam Rimay „religio”-emblémájához. Irodalomismeret 9. (2000) 2–3, 100–102.

²² Sándor Fazekas- Levente Juhász: Ezerszínű kaméleon. (A Sebes agynak késő sisak forrásai) ITK 3. (2004) 280–282; Sándor Fazekas: „A soknyelvű tolmács” – A Sebes agynak késő sisak forrásai, műfaj- és esztétörténeti jellemzői – (Dissertation, University of Szeged, 2006). 133–139; Sándor Fazekas- Levente Juhász: A harmincéves háború verses arcképcsarnoka. A Sebes agynak késő sisak és latin forrása. (Fiatal filológusok füzetek kora újkor 6.) Szeged 2010. 184–185.

modern art.²³ The best-known example is the one found in Cesare Ripa's (1560?-1623?) dictionary of iconography, *Iconologia*, which was published for the first time in 1593.²⁴ Ripa gives an exact description of the image of True Christian Religion (*Religione vera Christiana*). In the edition of 1603 he adds a dialogue in Latin verse similar to that found on Szenci Molnár's broadsheet.²⁵ After its publication the image of Religion in Ripa's work became extremely influential in Catholic art during the Baroque period. It decorates many Catholic churches and can even be found in St Peter's Basilica in Rome. It is notable, nonetheless, that Ripa did not reveal the name of the original author of the dialogue, although he described him as someone "with a good brain" (*un bell' ingegno*).²⁶

But what was Ripa's source for the image of Religion? Text and image have a quite unexpected Calvinist background.²⁷ The dialogue between Religion and Man was published for the first time in 1548 as a Latin poem with the title: *descriptio virtutis* (description of virtue). It was one of a collection of poems by the French reformer Theodore Beza (De Bèze, 1519-1605), the successor to Calvin in Geneva.²⁸ As far as we know, Beza did not add a picture of True Religion to this poem. This is quite remarkable, as the verse is a description of a picture. It is therefore possible that there existed an even earlier version of this work which is not known to us.

The dialogue with the figure of True Religion, now translated into French, was published for the first time in 1561 in combination with the image of True Religion in the famous and influential Protestant work: "*Confession de la foy chrestienne*" (Confession of

²³ Leendert Strenghtolt: De geschiedenis van een emblema. De Nieuwe Taalgids. 51. (1958) 296.

²⁴ Cesare Ripa Perugino: Iconologia overo descrittione dell'imagini universali cavate dall'antichità et da altri luoghi. Roma 1593. 136-137.

²⁵ Cesare Ripa Perugino: Iconologia. Roma 1603. Dutch translation: Cesare Ripa: Iconologia of Uytbeeldinghe des Verstands. Amsterdam 1644. 173: „t'Saemenspraecck, de Mensch en Religie", with the image of „Religione". Hungarian translation: Cesare Ripa: Iconologia. ford., a jegyzeteket és az utószót írta SajóTamás. Budapest 1997.

²⁶ Ripa Perugino, C.: Iconologia. op. cit. 493.

²⁷ Strenghtolt, L.: De geschiedenis op. cit. 296.

²⁸ Théodore de Bèze: Poemata. Paris, 1548. 68. See also: Monica Breazu: La marque typographique à la Vraie Religion – la fortune d'un emblème protestant. Lucrarile simpozionului international cartea. Romania. Europa. Julieta Rotaru ed. Bucharest 2010. 45

the Christian faith).²⁹ The picture, the work of an unknown artist, bears the title “*pourtrait de la vraye Religion*”.³⁰ (See image 3.) True Religion is presented here by Beza as the personification of Calvinist belief. With this Calvinist background in mind, we can understand why the Catholic Ripa remained silent about the origin of this *emblem*.

The original source of the image of True Religion and the name of its original inventor remain unknown. The emblem of 1561, however, is remarkably similar to a female figure in a woodcut in the “Twonderboeck” of the Dutch prophet, spiritualist and Anabaptist leader David Joris (David Joriszoon, 1501-1556), which was published in 1542 and again in 1551.³¹ (See image 4.) The female figure is nude, winged and crowned, and tramples on a skeleton under her feet. In the background a burning town, perhaps Jerusalem, is visible. This illustration was originally designed by the author himself, who was a gifted artist well known as a painter of windows. This woman represents the “Bruyts Christi” (Bride of Christ) or the new Eve, as is explained in the text accompanying the picture. She plays an important role in Joris’s religious ideas. According to book historian Monica Breazu, the appearance and meaning of this picture are very close to Beza’s emblem, which was only published for the first time in 1561.³² There is a direct link between Joris’s image and that produced in Balten’s workshop, as the Flemish artist Hieronymus Wierix (1553-1619), who worked for Balten, re-worked Joris’s original woodcut into an engraving for two later editions of the Wonderboek issued in 1584 and about 1595, after the image of True Religion also engraved by Wierix left the printer’s in 1576.³³ However, we have no proof

²⁹ *Théodore de Bèze: Confession de la foy chrestienne, faite par Theodore de Besze, contenant la confirmation d’icelle, et la refutation des superstitions contraires. Quatrieme edition, reveuë sur la latine, et augmentée: avec un abregé d’icelle.* [Genève] 1561.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, 12*.

³¹ *David Joris: T’Wonder-boeck: waer in dat van der werltd aen versloten gheopenbaert is.* S.L. 1542-1544, ²1551. AAAiv. See also: *Samme Zijlstra: Nicolaas Meynderts van Blesdijk. Een bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis van het Davidjorisme.* Assen 1983; *Samme Zijlstra: David Joris en de Doperse Stromingen (1536-1539).* In: *Historisch Bewogen.* M.G. Buist ed. Groningen 1984. 125-138; *R. P. Zijp: Spiritualisme in de 16de eeuw, een schets.* In: *Ketters en papen onder Philips II.* Utrecht 1986. 75-82.

³² *Breazu, M.: La marque typographique op. cit.* 45

³³ *David Joris: Twonderboek: waer in dat van der vwerltd aen versloten gheopenbaert is.* [Vianen 1584]; *David Joris: T’wonder-boeck: waer in dat van der uwerltd aen versloten*

that there was any connection between Joris's woodcut (1542) and Beza's original emblem (1561). Although the former lived for fifteen years in disguise in Basel, Beza's home town, till his death in 1556, the latter attacked his ideas fiercely.³⁴ It is therefore unlikely that Beza would have used so important and meaningful a symbol taken from a hated opponent to promote the ideas of Calvinism.

We must, nevertheless, bear in mind that the Catholic Ripa re-used this image from the hand of the Calvinist Beza in 1603. Even earlier, the Catholic Italian engraver Domenico Vitus (a monk at the Vallombrosa Benedictine Abbey in Tuscany, active 1576–1586.) used exactly the same image by Beza for his engraving titled *Pictura Religionis* (1579).³⁵ Vitus played a very active role in enforcing the major ecclesiastical reforms introduced by Pope Gregory XIII (1502-1585) during the Counter-Reformation. The picture, which as far as we know was not accompanied by a dialogue, was to promote the unity of the Catholic faith. This is clear from the text of the Gospel held by the figure of Religion: *unum colere deum* (to worship one God).

The image of True Religion became very important in Calvinist literature and art after 1561, as Beza and others actively encouraged the use of it as a symbol of Calvinism in the second half of the 16th century. We encounter it several times in reprints and translations of the Confession.³⁶ He again used it in his *Icones*, the first

gheopenbaert is. Rotterdam [ca 1595?]. See also: *Blouw Valkema*: Printers to the 'arch-heretic' David Joris. Prolegomena to a bibliography of his works. *Quaerendo* 21. (1991) 163-209. About the creation of this image by Wierix, see: *S.N.*: Keuze uit de aanwinsten. *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*. 51. (2003) 388-389.

³⁴ David Joris fled to Basel in 1544. Only after his death in 1559 did it become known who he really had been. His death body was exhumed and burned together with his books. *Jan Pieter de Bie - Jacob Loosjes*: Biographisch woordenboek van protestantsche godgeleerden in Nederland. Vol. IV. 's-Gravenhage 1931. 577-579.

³⁵ *Domenico Vito: Pictura Religionis* (1579). Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-2012-50; <http://www.teeuwisse.de/catalogues/selected-works-xii/pictura-religionis.html> (Accessed 2 November 2013.)

³⁶ *Théodore de Bèze*: Confession de la foy chrestienne. Geneva 1563. Nota Bene: the combination of the image and the text is not present in every print. In the edition of Jacques de Pan (1561), there was neither an image, nor a dialogue, neither in the edition of Conrad Badius (1559). Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Frey-Gryn G V 44. In one edition, there was only a dialogue: *Théodore de Bèze*: Confessio christianae fidei, et ejusdem collatio cum papisticis haeresibus, per Theodorum Bezam Vezelium. Adjuncta est altera brevis ejusdem Bezae confessio. [Geneva] 1570. 18.

Protestant collection of emblems, which was printed in 1580.³⁷ It was translated into French and published one year later.³⁸ The iconic figure of this woman in combination with a dialogue thus became the well-known symbol of the Calvinist faith in Western Europe throughout the 17th and 18th centuries.³⁹ It can be found in many variants and the dialogue was translated into several languages.⁴⁰ That made by Szenci Molnár in 1606 was the first version to be published in Hungarian. As such, it had a lasting influence on Calvinist culture in Hungary and Transylvania, as I will show later.

³⁷ *Théodore de Bèze*: Icones, id est, Verae Imagines Virorum Doctrina Simul Et Pietate Illustrium: Quorum Praecipue ministerio partim bonarum literarum studia sunt restituta, partim vera Religio in variis orbis Christiani religionibus, nostra patrumque memoria fuit instarata: additis eorundem vitae & operae descriptionibus, quibus adiectae sunt nonnullae picturae quas Emblemata vocant. Geneva 1580. (Emblema XXXIX.) fol. Pp ij v.

³⁸ *Théodore de Bèze*: Les vrais povrtraits des hommes illvstres en piete et doctrine dv trauail desquels Dieu s'est serui en ces derniers temps, pour remettre sus la vraye Religion en diuers pays de la chrestienté : avec les descriptions de leur vie & de leurs faits plus memorables: plvs, qvaranteqvatre emblemes chrestiens traduicts du latin de Theodore de Besze. [Geneva] 1581. 297. (emblem XXXIX). Probably Simon Goulart translated this work, see: *Strenghtolt, L.*: De geschiedenis op. cit. 297.

³⁹ S.N.: Acta ofte handelighen des Nationalen synodi inden name Onses Heeren Jesu Christi. Ghehouden door authoriteyt der hoogh: mogh: heeren Staten generael des Vereenichden Nederlandts tot Dordrecht, anno 1618. ende 1619. Dordrecht 1621; *Jacob Revius*: Over-ysselsche sangen en dichten. Leiden 1634. 8-9; *Cornelis Pieterszoon Biens*: Handtboecxken der Christelijcke Gedichten, Sinne-beelden ende Liedekens. Hoorn 1635. 33-34; *Cornelis Pieterszoon Biens*: Profytelyck Cabinet, Voor den Christelijcken Jongelingh. Enkhuizen ²1642; S.N.: Kort verhael, Van den Elendigen toestant, van de Volckeren in de Valleyen van Piemont, beginnende van den Jaere 1655. tot den Jaere 1663. den 2. September. S.L. 1655-1665, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-81.836; Overwinning op de dood, 1601-1667, Rijksmuseum RP-P-OB-52.943; A. *Hubert Korneliszoon Poot*: Het groot natuur- en zedekundigh werelttoneel: Woordenboek van meer dan 1200 aeloude Egyptische, Grieksche en Romeinsche zinnebeelden. II. Delft 1743. 519. See also: *Strenghtolt, L.*: De geschiedenis op. cit. 289-303.

⁴⁰ *Clement Marot - Théodore de Bèze*: Dix Psalmes de David. Paris 1564; *Clement Marot - Théodore de Bèze*: Superius. Cent cinquante Psalmes de David, mis en rime. Geneva 1583. (Le pourtrait de vraye religion en forme de dialogue); *Clement Marot - Théodore de Bèze*: Les / psealmes / de David, / Mis en rime François. Paris 1647 (title page); *Pierre Mariete*: Religio Christiana (engraving, 1600-1650). British Museum, Gg,4I.37. See also: *Ch. L. Frossard*: L'Emblème de la religion réformée. Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du protestantisme français. 30. (1881) 179. There exists a university seal in Scotland with the symbol of Religion and the following text: „ S. Collegii S. Theologiae Dicati F. Andre. Relligio Summi Sancta Patris Soboles”. *James Maitland Anderson*: The Heraldry of St Andrews University. Edinburgh - London 1895. 10-12.

The Dutch image of True Religion (after 1576)

Although the depiction of Religion by Beza was very popular at the time of the publication of the work of Szenci Molnár, it cannot be considered as the direct source of inspiration for the Hungarian personification of Religion, nor the image used by Ripa. The idea for Szenci Molnár's broadsheet came from the Netherlands – to be exact, from a Flemish work originally published in Antwerp during the revolt of the Dutch against Spanish rule.⁴¹ The direct predecessor of Szenci Molnár's work is also a quite rare broadsheet with an almost identical image of True Religion and a dialogue in Dutch, Latin and French.⁴² (See image 5.) It was published in Antwerp sometime after 1576 by the Flemish painter, poet and publisher Pieter Balten(s) (1525-1584), also known as Petrus Baltazar Custos.⁴³ He was the father of the previously mentioned Dominicus Custos of Augsburg, the engraver of the picture on Szenci Molnár's broadsheet.

The text on the broadsheet must have been derived from Beza's work and rewritten, but it is the Dutch translation was very probably made by Balten himself, as he was a poet too.⁴⁴ The Flemish artist Hieronymus Wierix (1553-1619) engraved the figure of Religion after a drawing by the also Flemish painter Maerten de Vos (1531/1532-1603).⁴⁵ Both artists lived and worked in Antwerp. It is very likely De Vos knew of Beza's allegory and reworked it into

⁴¹ *Vásárhelyi, J.*: Szenci Molnár Albert Institutio-fordítása op. cit. 13-24; *Kovács, G.*: Németalföldi párhuzam op. cit. 2-3, 100-102.

⁴² *Tsamensprekinghe den mensch en religie / Relligionis et hospitis colloquium / Dialogue de la religion en du passant.* (1576-1579) Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.659; *Atlas van Stolk*, Historisch Museum, Rotterdam, 607; *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700.* Maarten de Vos. Christiaan Schuckman – Dieuwke de Hoop Scheffer eds. Vol. XLVI. Amsterdam 1998. no. 1335, 178; *Marie o Mauquoy-Hendrickx*: Les Estampes des Wierix conservees au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliotheque Royale. Vol. II. Brussel 1979. 1655

⁴³ *Dominicus Custos*: Atrium heroicum Caesarum, regum, [...] imaginibus [...] illustr[at]um]. Augsburg 1600. fol. A.

⁴⁴ See the engraving which Lucas Kilian made of Balten in 1609: *Lucas Kilian*: Petrus Custos, vulgo Baltens, Pictor, et Poeta Antuerpianus. In gratiam piaie memoriae Parentis carissimi F.C. Dom. Custos chalcographus, et Civis Aug. Vind. 1609. Augsburg 1609. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, LKilian AB 3.80.

⁴⁵ About Maerten de Vos, see: *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish etchings op. cit.*; Christopher Plantin and engraved book illustrations in sixteenth-century Europe. Karen L. Bowen - Dirk Imhof eds. Cambridge 2008. 87-91. About Hieronymus Wierix: *James Clifton*:

a drawing, which was engraved on copper by Wierix. Unfortunately, the original drawing which served as a model for the print has not been preserved. A drawing by De Vos from the same period with an almost identical theme can be found in the Atlas van Stolk collection in Rotterdam.⁴⁶

The Dutch picture of True Religion was a little smaller than its copy made in 1606: it measures 314 mm by 228 mm. The originally copper plate from Antwerp cannot have been re-used by Custos in Augsburg to make the picture for Szenci Molnár. Instead, Custos prepared a complete new engraving, based on his father's original print. It is possible that Szenci Molnár chose this image from a catalogue at Custos' work-place, if he ever met him. It is also likely that Custos, or an intermediary, suggested the translation of this text and the use of this image to Szenci Molnár.

The publication of Balten's Dutch broadsheet is closely connected to the turbulent political events in the Netherlands after 1576.⁴⁷ After eight years of successful armed revolt against Spanish power in the Low Countries, the northern counties were firmly in the hands of the rebels. The Spanish troops were still not able to gain control over the two most important Southern provinces, Flanders and Brabant. In 1576 a cease-fire was agreed between the representatives of Prince William of Orange and the Estates of Holland and Zeeland on the one hand, and the delegates of most of the remaining provinces of the Netherlands on the other. This so-called Pacification was signed at the city of Ghent in the south on 8 November 1576.⁴⁸ The immediate cause of this agreement was the outbreak of the so-called "Spanish Fury", the mutiny of the

Adriaen Huybrechts, the Wierix Brothers, and Confessional Politics in the Netherlands. *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 52. (2001) 104-125.

⁴⁶ In thiam pontificiam tyrannidis Romae. (ca. 1580) Atlas van Stolk, Historisch Museum, Rotterdam. 343. Other similar drawings: Saint Catharine (1584-1589), Rijksmuseum, RP-T-00-567. Another similar Religio figure made by Vos with a different background: Louvre, Paris, d0110795-000 (1586).

⁴⁷ *Frederik Muller*: De Nederlandsche geschiedenis in platen: beredeneerde beschrijving van Nederlandsche historieplaten, zinneprenten en historische kaarten. Vol. IV. Amsterdam 1882. 77, 723D; *Daniel Horst*: De Opstand in zwart-wit: propagandaprenten uit de Nederlandse Opstand [1566-1584]. Zutphen 2003. no. 271 and 357, image 87.

⁴⁸ About the Pacification of Ghent, see: *Herbert H. Rowen*: The Low Countries in Early Modern Times: A Documentary History. New York 1972. 59-64; *K. W. Swart*: William of Orange and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1572-84. Edited by R.P. Fagel. M.E.H.N. Mout and H.F.K. Van Nierop. Translated by J.C. Grayson. Aldershot and Burlington, VT 2003. 109-114.

Spanish soldiers and the sacking and massacre in Antwerp, which took place only four days before the signing of the Pacification. It had been mutually agreed by the representatives that the Spanish troops should be withdrawn from the Seventeen Provinces and that religious differences on Dutch territory should be tolerated. This agreement allowed the provinces of Holland and Zeeland to retain Calvinism as their established religion, but also that the rights of those who remained Catholic should be respected. Don Juan of Austria, King Philip II's new Spanish governor of the Low Countries, was required to swear to uphold the Pacification. Thus it appeared that the provinces of the Netherlands were now reunited and that the rebels' main aims, religious toleration and local self-government, would be realised. Legal sovereignty over the Low Countries, however, remained with the Spanish crown, worn by a member of the Habsburg dynasty in Spain.

The appearance and meaning of the picture of True Religion is related to other allegories engraved by Wierix and issued by Balten's Antwerp workshop in the same period. All of these represent the sufferings and liberation of the Netherlands before and after the Pacification of Ghent through an allegorical image and sometimes a text. One of these is an allegorical depiction of *Patentia* (Patience).⁴⁹ The centre of the image is formed by a half nude woman as the personification of Patience, with a city in flames and ships in the background, just as in the picture of True Religion. In the same year, a political allegory about Perseus and Andromeda was published.⁵⁰ It is a depiction of William of Orange as Perseus, who saves the Netherlands, in the form of Andromeda, from Spanish tyranny, which is represented as a sea monster. Another broadsheet bears a depiction of an allegorical triumphal carriage celebrating the Pacification of Ghent.⁵¹ A corresponding print titled *Arbor Pacis* (Tree of peace) is also an allegory of the situation in the Netherlands.⁵² All these prints have a burning town in the background, which symbolises the sacking of Antwerp by the

⁴⁹ Allegories of the suffering and liberation of the Netherlands (1577), British Museum, 1932,0213.303

⁵⁰ Oranje redt de Nederlanden van het Spaanse zeemonster, ca. 1577, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1944-1711.

⁵¹ Pacis triumphantis delineatio (1577), Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1911-744.

⁵² Arbor Pacis. Als Liefde met Trouwe vast door Concordantie... (1576), British Museum, 1882,0812.369.

Spanish troops. They also carry an explanation in Latin, Dutch and French by Balten. It is very likely that these broadsheets, including the one about True Religion, formed a series about the Pacification of Ghent in 1576. Each highlighted a different aspect of the peace settlement and reflected on it in a slightly different way.

Although Beza's original image of True Religion and its dialogue have a strong Calvinist background, Balten's print does perhaps not. Neither De Vos nor Wierix can be considered a true Calvinist artist. Both produced many art works on Catholic themes and their work was popular among Catholics as well as Protestants. They were much sought-after in Catholic circles: De Vos was responsible for the redecoration of the Catholic churches in Antwerp after the iconoclasm of 1566.⁵³ Moreover, Hieronymus Wierix and his brother Antonius worked extensively for the Jesuits: of their 2331 known engravings, 231 have Jesuit themes.⁵⁴ The Wierix brothers' images were still used till the end of the 18th century to spread the Catholic faith worldwide.⁵⁵ A Jesuit poet put the following lines in the mouth of printer Platin in a commemorative book issued in 1640: "Mijn pers die is vermaert door al de fijnste plaeten / Die ons oft Albert Dver, oft VVierickx heeft ghe-laeten."⁵⁶ (My press is famous because of the finest plates / Which have been left to us by Albrecht Dürer or Wierix.) An image of a printer can be seen above these lines, busy printing an engraving of one of the Wierixes. The making, engraving and publication of anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish prints by De Vos, the Wierix brothers and Balten after 1576 must therefore be viewed from the angle of the turbulent political circumstances of that time and the great anger of the citizens of Antwerp that had been provoked by the Spanish Fury.⁵⁷

⁵³ *Armin Zweite*: Marten de Vos als Maler. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Antwerpener Malerei in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Berlin 1980. 24.

⁵⁴ *Paul Begheyn*: The collection of copperplates by members of the Wierix family in the Jesuit church 'De Krijtberg' in Amsterdam. *Quaerendo* 31. (2001) 194-204.

⁵⁵ *Gauvin Alexander Bailey*: Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America. 1542-1773. Toronto 1999. 10, 74, 77; *Begheyn, P.*: The collection op. cit. 196.

⁵⁶ *S.N.*: Af-beeldinghe van d'eerste eevwe der societeyt Iesv / Voor ooghen ghestelt door de Duyts-Nederlantsche Provincie der selver Societeyt. Antwerpen 1640. 398. See also: *Begheyn, P.*: The collection op. cit. 196.

⁵⁷ There also exist one copy of another slightly adapted image of True Religion, based on the original of Beza with a text and made between 1595 and 1603 by the Catholic artist Philips

It is time to turn our attention to the text of the Dutch broadsheet, in which the meaning of the picture is explained. The content of the dialogue suggests not only a strong link between picture and text, but also between the reader or viewer and the subject of the broadsheet, the symbolic figure of Religion. We can thus state that the subject of the text is the spectator and reader of the broadsheet himself. The figure of *Homo* (Man) in the text can thus be understood as the personification of the reader of the broadsheet. This fictive dialogue is constructed in order to draw the spectator's attention to specific details of the image in a certain order. The author of the text "reads" the supposed thoughts of the reader and translates them into questions to the figure. Thus, the spectator is guided through the allegory towards a deeper understanding of the political or religious meaning of its specific details. The goal is, quite understandably, to teach the reader about the nature of True Religion. In this way, we gain not only a better understanding of the allegorical meaning of this picture in the early-modern period through the eyes of the original author, but also an insight into how a certain allegory might have been viewed by a contemporary spectator, or at least how the creator wanted him to see it.

The difficulty with understanding the picture through the content of the dialogue is not only that the original text is translated into other languages, but also that these translations differ slightly from each other. (See the appendix.) The dialogue in Balten's edition is published in Latin, French and Dutch. Balten altered Beza's Latin text slightly, but what is more the content of the Dutch and French translations differs from the Latin original. It is clear from the content of the dialogue that Balten rewrote Beza's dialogue so it should conform to the changes of the image of Religion done by De Vos. The first lines deal with the meaning of the crown of stars on the head of Religion, which is missing in the original picture. The new background with the army in battle order is also explained at the end of the dialogue. When Man asks about the war scene in the background, the female figure refers to the illegal deeds committed against Religion by the Spanish soldiers. In this way

Galle (1537-1612) in Antwerp. Typus verae Religionis, c. 1595/1600. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Prentenkabinet. *Manfred Sellink*: Philips Galle (1537-1612). Engraver and Publisher in Haarlem and Antwerp. Doctoral Thesis, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. Vol. 1. Amsterdam 2007. 119; ibidem, vol. IV. 449, illustration 115.

the broadsheet acquires a topical political meaning, which alludes to the Dutch political situation and the Pacification of Gent.

As the Latin, Dutch and French texts on the Antwerp broadsheet differ from each other, it is also possible that more than one author worked on it. In the Dutch text the figure of Man is shocked at the sight of Religion's naked breasts. (T is scande dat ghy staet, met u borsten naeckt.) The original Latin text sounds much more neutral: *Cur nudum pectus?* (Why is the breast naked?), which is literally translated in French: (Pourquoy le sein tout nud?). The Dutch answer to that question is: I want you to taste my inner love. (Ic begheer, dat ghy my inwendige liefde smaekt.). The Latin is again much simpler: *Decet hoc candoris amicam.* (It suits the one who loves purity.) It is also likely that Balten was aiming at different target audiences in the Netherlands who wanted to hear different messages from the mouth of Religion. As we know, French was dominant in the south of the Low Countries while the north spoke Dutch. Latin was the language of the better educated inhabitants of the whole country.

The designer Maerten de Vos, the engraver Hieronymus Wierix and the writer Balten re-worked the original religious picture and text about the victory of True Religion over Death into a political allegory about the Dutch Revolt. The allegorical meaning appears from the adaptations of Beza's original emblem and the re-working of the text.

The most striking difference between Beza's emblem and the broadsheet is the burning city in the background, which is also visible on the later picture by Custos (1606). A similar city can be found in many earlier pictures by Maerten de Vos and in other contemporary art works. The background is quite similar to 16th century maps of the old town of Jerusalem. Originally, this image of the town and its surroundings was meant as a depiction of King Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem (II. Kings 19.), when the kings' troops were dispersed by an angel sent by God. During the Dutch Revolt this image was used many times as an allegory of the successful defence of a Dutch town against the Spaniards with help of Providence, for instance on a medal struck after the siege of Leyden in 1574.⁵⁸ (See image 6.) In Balten's print the holy city is

⁵⁸ Medallion with the text: VT. SANHERIB A IERUSALEM | 2. REG. 19, on the reverse Leiden and Spanish fortresses with the text: SIC. HISPA. A. LEYD. NOCTV | 3. OCTO. 1574. See: *Gerard van Loon*: Beschrijving der Nederlandsche Historiepenningen of

burning, not because of the Assyrians, but because of the Spanish troops during the Spanish Fury at Antwerp in 1576. The meaning of this Dutch background becomes even clearer if we compare this print with a drawing with a similar background which De Vos made at roughly the same time (circa 1580) about the pontifical tiara of the Roman tyranny.⁵⁹ The inscriptions were added to this drawing after 1605, perhaps to prepare the drawing for engraving on copper. These additions explain the allegorical meaning of this work for the spectator at that time. They can be also very helpful in understanding the background of Balten and Custos's images. The city in flames is described as *proditiones et direptiones Antverpianae* (the treason and plunder of Antwerp), the troops as *inquisitio Hispanica* (Spanish inquisition) and the ships as *commercia libera* (free trade). Moreover, the burning Jerusalem can be viewed not only as a symbol of the Netherlands but also as an allegory of the True Church, which is seriously damaged by the Spanish troops sent by Catholic forces from Spain.

The scene in the engraving itself, with the attack of the Spanish troops and the ships, is very much like contemporary descriptions and depictions of the Fury of Antwerp.⁶⁰ A similar scene is visible on a medal commemorating the Fury of Antwerp, produced in 1576.⁶¹ (See image 7.) The difference is that the city on the medal is a reproduction of the skyline of Antwerp, while in Balten's print it is Jerusalem.

The theme of the war in the Netherlands was also elaborated in the dialogue itself. In the Dutch text, Man asks if Religion is the cause of the war behind her. Religion answers that she has nothing to do with it, but that others are fighting in her name and abusing it for their own purposes. The authority and respect of

beknopt verhaal van 't gene sedert de overdracht der heerschappye van keyzer Karel den Vyfden op koning Philips zynen zoon, tot het sluyten van den Uytrechtschen vrede, in de zeventien Nederlandsche gewesten is voorgevallen. Vol. I. 's-Gravenhage 1723. 194-195.

⁵⁹ In thiarum pontificiam tyrannidis Romae. (ca. 1580). Atlas van Stolk, Historisch Museum, Rotterdam. 343

⁶⁰ *Pieter Christiaenszoon Bor*: Oorspronck, begin ende aenvang der Nederlantscher oorlogen, beroerten ende borgerlijcke oneenicheyden. Warachtighe ende historische beschrijvinge. Utrecht 1595. fol. 182-190; *Emanuel van Meteren*: Belgische ofte Nederlantsche historie, van onsen tijden. Delft 1599. fol. 117-118; *Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft*: Nederlandsche hystoorien, sedert de ooverdraght der heerschappye van kaizar Karel den Vyfden, op kooning Philips zynen zoon. Amsterdam 1642. fol. 471.

⁶¹ *Loon, G. van*: Beschrijving op. cit. 225.

Religion and the Spanish king are affected by this behaviour. The Latin text is even more specific: Man asks about a violated treaty, by which he must refer to the Pacification of Ghent. The text on the book which Religion holds in her hand and which was also changed, also refers to this treaty, as it proclaims the 'gospel of eternal peace'. Religion points to the Spanish soldiers responsible for the violation of the treaty and to the violence in name of the True Religion. King, religion and country suffer because of the war fought in name of religion. The argument used here by Balten is that the authority of the king in the Netherlands is seriously damaged by the misconduct of the Spanish troops and the bad governance of the governor. The same argument had already been used by Prince William of Orange in the late 1560s in his defence of his opposition to the Grand Duke of Alba.⁶²

Beza's originally Calvinist religious emblem was thus turned into a political allegory to support a strong political message about the Pacification of Ghent. It is important to state that neither the text nor the picture on the broadsheet was directed on purpose against the Catholic faith or the Catholic Church. Nor were they meant to promote the Calvinist cause in the Netherlands. The majority of the inhabitants of the southern part of the Low Countries were still Catholic. De Vos, Wierix and Balten did not devise a Protestant allegory. Their work was first and foremost a protest in print against the consequences of an unjust war fought in the name of a sanctimonious interpretation of the Catholic faith.

The Hungarian image of True Religion (1606)

The similarity between Balten's broadsheet and Szenci Molnár's rather suggests that the Hungarian deliberately chose this picture and text for translation and publication. Why did Szenci Molnár, or someone acting on his behalf, pick this Dutch broadsheet, why was its content translated into Hungarian, and what kind of political message did this publication contain?

A distinctive feature of the Hungarian broadsheet is the lack of a proper title, which was present in Balten's version. Instead, the

⁶² *Apologie ov defense de tresillustre prince Guillaume [...] contre le ban & edict publié par le roi d'Espagne. Leyden 1581.*

work bears a dedication to Iohannes [János] Békési, citizen and councillor of Kassa. This dedication is an important and meaningful part of the work. Békési was a wealthy Protestant merchant of this 'free royal' town in the north of Royal Hungary, nowadays *Košice* in Slovakia.⁶³ At the time of the Bocskai uprising (1604-1606), it was the seat of Prince Bocskai, the centre of the rebellion and one of the main sources of the Hungarian propaganda related to the uprising against Habsburg rule in Hungary. Békési acted as Szenci Molnár's patron and benefactor, and according to the notes in his diary he paid the considerable sum of 100 Gold Florins for his academic studies in Germany in 1600.⁶⁴

Nevertheless, it would be surprising if Szenci Molnár published this broadsheet merely out of gratitude and for the pleasure of one benefactor alone. The translation and publication of such an important and meaningful Calvinist text into Hungarian, in unusually small impression and accompanied by an expensive engraving, must have been more than just a friendly gesture towards his Hungarian patron in Kassa.

The publication of this translation in 1606 was a decisive stage in Szenci Molnár's career as a mediator between the Calvinists of Hungary and Transylvania and the Calvinist community in Europe. Between 1600 and 1608 Szenci Molnár deliberately build up a corpus of works related to this developing intermediary role. Békési played an important role in supporting him in the initial stage of his career, when he was starting as a student of Theology and as a translator into Hungarian.

Another milestone in Szenci Molnár's career was the publication in 1607, only a year after the image of True Religion left the printer, of a Hungarian translation of the Psalms. In the foreword of this work he looked back on how this translation came into

⁶³ *István H. Németh*: Kassa város archontológiája. Bírák, belső és külső tanács 1500-1700. Budapest 2006. 144. About the relation between Békési and Szenci Molnár, see: *Dézsai, L.*: Szenczi Molnár op. cit. 88, 90.

⁶⁴ In addition, Szenci Molnár also sent a book to Békési, inscribed. "Bekesi Janosnak Cassara Küldi Albertvs Molnar Heideibergabol" in: *István Pathai*: Az Sacramentomokrol in Genere. Es kivaldkeppen az Vr Vachoraiarol valo köniueckke melben kerdezkeseknek es feleleteknek formaiban, az kereztyeni tökelletes es igaz vallas ... foglaltatik: es minden rendbeli teuelgesek ellen megh erőssittetik Pathai Istvan Papai Praedicator által. Anno MDXCIII. [Sicz] 1593. RMNy I 705. See: A magyar nemzeti múzeum könyvtárának magyar történeti és irodalomtörténeti kiállítása. Magyar Könyvszemle 2. (1877) 299.

being.⁶⁵ This text can also be considered an account of his past work rendered to his patron. He wrote that when he visited Kassa, Békési ordered a “Hungarian book” from him and that he received 150 Gold Florins from his benefactor on account.⁶⁶ When Szenci Molnár arrived in Heidelberg he started to translate into Hungarian a German translation of a French work of the Calvinist Huguenot Daniel Toussaint (Tossanus, 1541-1602), which he intended to present to Békési to fulfil his promise and as a token of his gratitude. According to his diary, he began the translation of this ‘*lelki iscola*’ (School of the soul) on 21 August 1600, but he never mentioned either finishing it or its publication.⁶⁷

He probably never presented the translation to Békési, as can be understood from the foreword to the Psalms. It is likely that it remained in manuscript and has been lost.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, the relationship with his patron deteriorated, as Szenci Molnár did not return to Hungary.⁶⁹ He excuses himself in the foreword for breaking this promise to his patron by pointing to his hard work during the following years on the composition of a Latin-Hungarian dictionary and the Hungarian translation of the Psalms. The dictionary was published as early as 1604 with the support of the Habsburg Emperor Rudolf II.⁷⁰ The Hungarian edition of

⁶⁵ *Albert Szenci Molnár: Psalterium Ungaricum, Szent David kiraly nac es prophetanac szaz ötven soltari az franciai notaknac és versek nec módgyokra most uyonnan magyar versekre fordittat ac es rendeltettec az Szenci Molnar Albert által. Herborn 1607. RMK I. 407; RMNy II. 962. 19-20. “Ez előtt annakokaért hét esztendővel, midőn Cassán én tölem Magyar könyvet kért volna az tiszteles Békési János (Ki az én tanuságomra, az Istentől néki engedet jókból, más fél száz forintot adot, ki megfizet Isten ő Kegyeleméd nec.)”*

⁶⁶ According to the already mentioned note in his diary, he received only 100 Florins on 4 February 1600. *Dézsí, L.: Szenczi Molnár op. cit. 28.*

⁶⁷ *Ibidem, 30.*

⁶⁸ *Tivadar Thienemann: A XVI és XVII századi irodalmunk német eredetű művei. ITK 123. (1922) 80.*

⁶⁹ *Janos Heltai: Egy művelődéspártoló polgári kör. Magyar Könyvszemle 98. (1982) 123.*

⁷⁰ *Albert Szenci Molnár: Dictionarium Latinoungaricum. Opus novum et hactenus nusquam editum, in quo omnes omnium probatorum linguae Latinae autorum dictiones et rerum vocabula, quoad fieri potuit, propriissime et exactissime sunt Ungarice reddita. Nomina item propria deorum, gentilium, regionum, insularum, marium, fluviorum, sylvarum, lacuum, montium, populorum, virorum, mulierum, urbium, vicorum et similium cum brevi et perspicua descriptione Ungarica sunt interspersa, quae singula ita sunt digesta, ut sub initiali sua litera facile reperiantur. Noribergae [Nürnberg] 1604. RMNy II. 919.*

the Psalms left the printer in 1607.⁷¹ The printing of this book was sponsored by Frederick IV, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, and Count Maurice of Hesse.

The translation of the work of Tossanus has always been considered the first translation into Hungarian by Szenci Molnár. As this work was possibly never finished, no one has ever seen it, and it has become lost, the newly discovered Dialogue with True Religion can be considered the earliest known Hungarian translation by the hand of Szenci Molnár to have come down to us. The dedication on the broadsheet of True Religion is therefore a sign of gratitude of the author to Békési for his support of his translation work. The print can thus also be viewed as the partial fulfilment of the promise made in 1600 to deliver a 'Hungarian book' to his patron.

As the Dialogue with True Religion was the first published Hungarian translation by Szenci Molnár, this text can also be seen as a proof of his talent as a translator. Moreover, it is also the earliest known Hungarian-language broadsheet ever published and one of the few broadsheets in Hungarian to have been published outside Hungary.

The publication of this Hungarian text in 1606 cannot be a coincidence, if we consider the many translation projects for which Szenci Molnár sought support in this period. The Hungarian edition of the Psalms was dedicated to Maurice the Learned, Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel (1570-1632).⁷² Maurice converted to Calvinism only in 1605, during the so-called *Zweite Reformation* or Second Reformation in Hesse.⁷³ By that time he was deeply involved with the fate of Calvinists in Hungary and Transylvania through his contact with the French diplomat and humanist Jacques Bongars (Bongarsius, 1554-1612), as we can read in his

⁷¹ *Szenci Molnár, A.: Psalterium Ungaricum op. cit.*

⁷² *György Gömöri: Ismeretlen Szenci Molnár-vers a Hanaui Bibliia dedikációs példányában. ITK 104. (2000) 751-754.*

⁷³ *Mihály Imre: A marburgi magyar peregrináció és a Verbesserungswerk kapcsolata. In: Mihály Imre: Az isteni és emberi szó párbeszéde. Tanulmányok a 16–18. századi protestantizmus irodalmáról. Sárospatak 2012. 197-213; Gerhard Menk – Birgit Kümmel: Die Einführung der Zweiten Reformation und die Bilderfrage. In: Moritz der Gelehrte: ein Renaissancefürst in Europa. Hrsg. von Heiner Borggreve - Vera Lüpkes. Eurasburg 1997. 87-100.*

correspondence with the French king Henri IV.⁷⁴ This Landgrave's special relation with Hungary and the Hungarians was no mere chance. His family considered it a duty to honour and maintains the dynastic heritage related to Hungary, as their ancestress, Sophie of Thuringia (1224-1275), Duchess of Brabant, had been the daughter of St Elisabeth of Hungary (1207-1231), a saint well known all over Europe, especially in the Netherlands, and from whom most of the royal houses of Europe sought to prove their descent.⁷⁵ At the time of Maurice the Learned the Hungarian roots of the family were still cherished and known by the public, as we can learn from many German and Dutch sources.⁷⁶

Szenci Molnár wrote in the foreword (in Latin and Hungarian) to the translation of Psalms that the Landgrave even mastered the Hungarian language. He proved this by an anecdote which he had heard from Baron Miklós Thököly of Késczmark, the son of Sebestyén Thököly, one of Szenci Molnár's patrons. While Szenci Molnár was translating the Psalms, he told him that he heard Maurice speaking Hungarian in Dillenburg castle, the home of the Nassau family.⁷⁷ On hearing this, Szenci Molnár pledged himself to dedicate this book to Maurice. He even dedicated his new Hungarian grammar book to Maurice's son, who was born in 1600.⁷⁸ It seems very likely that Maurice also received a copy of the Hungarian broadsheet, although we have no proof of this.

Like the original Antwerp print, the publication of the broadsheet in Hungarian about True Religion is closely related to the turbulent political circumstances of 1606 in Hungary and Transylvania, which affected the Calvinist community there severely. This year saw the conclusion of the rebellion against the Habsburg Emperor Rudolf II (Rudolf I of Hungary, 1572-1608) in the King-

⁷⁴ Correspondance inédite de Henri IV, roi de France et de Navarre, avec Maurice-le-Savant, landgrave de Hesse; accompagnée de notes et éclaircissemens historiques. Accompagnée de notes et éclaircissemens historiques par M. de Rommel. Paris 1840.

⁷⁵ *Gábor Klaniczay*: Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe, tr. by Éva. Pálmai. Cambridge 2002. 123-134.

⁷⁶ *Kees Teszelszky*: Crown and Kingdom in the Republic: the cultural construction and literal representation of Early Modern Hungary and the Hungarians in the Low Countries. (in print)

⁷⁷ "(...) Fogadást töttem hogy ha Isten kegyelméből ez könyv megkészüln, Te Feleségnek is offerálom. hogy a Te Feleséged a Nassoviai nevezetes Várban Dillenburgban Magyarol szolni hallotta. O sok tudomanju Fejedelem!" *Szenci Molnár*, A.: Psalterium op. cit. 6.

⁷⁸ *Albert Szenci Molnár*: Novae grammaticae Ungaricae succincta methodo comprehensae libri II... Hanoviae 1610. RMK I. 422; RMNy II. 995.

dom of Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania led by the Calvinist István Bocskai (1557-1606), which lasted from 1604 till 1606. The Bocskai uprising came to an end shortly after Szenci Molnár's work left the printer in Augsburg, as it was printed between 14 and 28 May 1606. The peace talks had started at the end of 1605 and the Treaty of Vienna was signed on 23 June 1606 on behalf of King Rudolf I and Prince Bocskai. The Habsburg court acknowledged the independence of Transylvania and conceded full religious freedom to the Protestants of Hungary, including the adherents of the Calvinist faith.

Before the Peace of Vienna was concluded in 1606 the Habsburg court and the Hungarian estates fought out a propaganda war.⁷⁹ Both directed their messages to the German lands, but with different goals in mind. The emperor tried to obtain financial and military assistance against the Hungarians from the German aristocracy and Estates. His court pointed to the illegal resistance of the Hungarian Estates against the authority of the king, the threat of the Ottomans caused by their alliance with Bocskai and their military support of the Hungarians, the supposed adherence of Bocskai to Arianism, his alleged support of heretics and his cruel treatment of the Jesuits. Bocskai sought the political support of the German Protestant Prince-Electors for his peace negotiations with the emperor and the conclusion of the peace treaty with the Ottomans. His supporters countered the Habsburg propaganda by justifying their opposition to the king, explaining and legitimating their relationship with the Ottomans, apologizing for Bocskai's personal beliefs and portraying him as a devout supporter of the Calvinist cause. His supporters tried to counterbalance the Habsburg allegations by issuing several political texts which were disse-

⁷⁹ *Karl Vocelka*: Die politische Propaganda Kaiser Rudolf II. (1576–1612). Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Geschichte Österreichs, Bd. 9. Wien 1981; *Nóra G. Etényi*: Religió és rebellió. A Bocskai-szabadságharc a korabeli publicisztikában. *Studia Caroliensia*. 7. (2006) 61-72; *Benedek Varga*: Szempontok a Bocskai-felkelés ideológiájának európai kontextusához. *Studia Caroliensia* 7. (2006) 29–41; *László Péter*: Ius resistendi in Hungary. In: *Resistance, Rebellion and Revolution in Hungary and Central Europe: commemorating 1956*. Edited by László Péter and Martyn Rady. (Studies in Russia and Eastern Europe No. 3.) London 2008. 41-56; *Martyn Rady*: Bocskai, Rebellion and Resistance in Early Modern Hungary. *Idem*, 57-67; *Zoltán Péter Bagi*: A császári-királyi mezei hadsereg a tizenöt éves háborúban. *Hadszervezet, érdekérvényesítés, reformkísérletek*. Budapest 2011. 15-16, 38-40; *Kees Teszelszky - Márton Zászkaliczky*: A Bocskai-felkelés és az európai információhálózatok: Hírek, diplomácia és politikai propaganda, 1604–1606. *Aetas* 27. (2012) 49-120.

minated through the channels of the European ‘republic of letters’, allies and Hungarian exiles in Europe. These documents reached not only Germany, but also France, the Low Countries and even England. Most of these texts circulated in manuscript form, but some of them were translated, printed, re-translated and re-printed as well, without any Hungarian involvement or knowledge. The propaganda war between the Habsburg and the Bocskai camp went through several phases. The content of the propaganda texts of the Bocskai court depended on the actual political, military or diplomatic situation of the moment.

The publication of the broadsheet about True Religion is closely related to the defence against the Habsburg allegations about Bocskai’s supposed heretical beliefs, which were made in the same period. The court in Vienna spread the message in the German countries that Bocskai, because of his Arian belief, was persecuting and killing Germans in Hungary, especially Lutheran pastors. As a reaction on these rumours, Péter Alvinczi, Bocskai’s court chaplain, wrote an *Apologia* to in defence of Bocskai on behalf of the delegates and pastors of the Calvinist Church of Hungary. The text, in which Bocskai is depicted as a true Calvinist prince, was dated 16 June 1606, only a month after the *Picture of True Religion* was published.⁸⁰

Szenci Molnár disseminated the text of the *Apologia* among the Protestants in the German countries just as he did his Hungarian broadsheet in 1606. He ordered the issuing of at least three new editions of the *Apologia*, which were printed in Hanau in 1608.⁸¹ As already stated, an example of the 1608 edition of the *Apologia* was even sent together with the Hungarian broadsheet

⁸⁰ *Apologia et protestatio legatorum et ecclesiarum Hungaricarum, adversus iniquissimas Monacho-Jesuitarum criminationes, quibus Serenissimum Dominum, Dominum Stephanum Dei gratiae Hungariae et Transylvaniae principem gentemque Hungaricam, in odia et contemptum potentissimorum Germaniae Principum inducere, et adversus eos, more Jesuitico, concitare volentes, Arianismi insimulare non sunt veriti. Bartphae, 1606. RMK II. 325A; RMNy II 941.* There also existed a Swedish edition, probably based on one of the editions by Szenci Molnár: *En försvarelseskraft och protestation, som församlingerne uti thet konungerijket Vngern och theres utskickede sendebudh, hafue giordt emoot munke jesuiternes osanfärdelige förwijtelser ... : Afsatt af latijnen vppåswenske ... Stockholm 1606.*

⁸¹ *Apologia et protestatio legatorum et ecclesiarum Hvngaricarum aduersus iniquissimas Monacho-Jesuitarum criminationes, quibus ... [Hanau], 1608. RMK III. 5767 (RMK III. Pótlások 2. füzet/Pótlások, kezéskézések, javítások (5693–6385)); RMK III.5768; RMK III.5769. RMNy 4034, 5767, 5768, 5769.*

in 1609.⁸² The image of True Religion had to reinforce the image of Bocskai in Western Europe as the defender of the true Calvinist religion in the east, even after the end of the revolt. The political meaning of the image of True Religion was thus closely related to the Treaty of Vienna in 1606, just as Balten's edition had been to the Pacification of Ghent in 1576. The work was thus a protest against the consequences of an unjust war in Hungary and Transylvania, fought in the name of a sanctimonious interpretation of the Catholic faith.

If we compare Balten's print with that made by Szenci Molnár and Custos in 1606, the following differences are visible. First of all, the image is not a re-working of the original copper plate, but a brand new engraving, largely based on the old image. Custos had changed only some minor details of his father's work. The text on the book which Religion holds in her hand was changed from *Evangelium pacis* (Gospel of peace) into *Evangelium pacis aeternae*. (Gospel of eternal peace), which clearly points to the Treaty of Vienna. The original title in Dutch, Latin and French was replaced by Szenci Molnár by a dedication to János Békési. As the Hungarian historian Noémi Viskolcz has already observed, Szenci Molnár used Balten's version of the Latin dialogue instead of Beza's original.⁸³ Nevertheless, the Hungarian knew who the original author was, because at the end of the text the initials "T.B." are visible, which are missing in the edition of Balten. (For a comparison between the three editions, see the appendix.) Szenci Molnár also rewrote the part about the soldiers. Obviously he did not write about their Spanish origin, but he stated that Religion overcame the violence (of the soldiers) and ascended to the Lord in heaven.

But why did Szenci Molnár use this emblem and dialogue to spread a message about the Bocskai Revolt? In about 1600 the figure of True religion and its dialogue had become a very important political symbol in the Calvinist world. This was especially true for the Calvinist political, cultural and confessional circles in the Electoral Palatinate, Hesse-Kassel, Nassau-Dillenburg, Bremen, Brandenburg and Silesia, in which Szenci Molnár was at

⁸² Letter of Georg (György) Henisch to Szenci Molnár, 12 March 1606. MTAK Ms. K 787, fol. 220r.; Dézsi, L.: Szenczi Molnár op. cit. 301.

⁸³ Viskolcz, N.: „Vágyon egy kis Varos Moguntian innen.” op. cit. 80-81. See also: Waldapfel, J.: Szenczi Molnár Albert op. cit. 431-432.

home and which were his target audience for his political message about Hungary and Transylvania.⁸⁴

A clear example of the symbolic value of this Calvinist emblem is the gift in 1574 to the Elector Palatine Frederick III (1515-1576) of a bejewelled golden statue of True Religion.⁸⁵ It was presented to him on the occasion of his conversion to Calvinism thirty years earlier. In addition to the golden figure, he received a voluminous collection of Protestant verses, edited by the French Protestant Philippes de Pas, Seigneur de Feuquières, and with a dedication in his own hand.⁸⁶ The meaning of this statue was explained in verses by one of the most famous humanists of that time, Joseph Justus Scaliger, the French poet Théodore de Sautemont and Johannes Saracenus.⁸⁷ Not only the statue, but also the content of the verses were based on Beza's original dialogue with Religion. The original religious meaning of the emblem was thus transformed into a political image of the conversion of a Lutheran ruler to the True Religion by divine Providence. The religious allegory was cast into a golden symbol of Calvinist power.⁸⁸ Perhaps there is also a similar link between the conversion of Maurice of Hesse-Kassel in 1605 and the publication of the image of True Religion by Szenci Molnár a year later, as Maurice became an important

⁸⁴ Mihály Imre: „Úton járásnak megírása” Kulturális emlékezet, retorikai-poétikai elvek érvényesülése Szenci Molnár Albert műveiben. Budapest 2009. 277.

⁸⁵ Strengholt, L.: De geschiedenis op. cit. 298; Sara Barker: Protestantism, poetry and protest: The Vernacular Writings of Antoine de Chandieu (c. 1534–1591). Farnham 2009. 236.

⁸⁶ Poemes chrestiens de B. de Montmeja, et autres diuers auteurs. Recueillis et nouvellement mis en lumiere par Philippe de Pas. [Geneva] 1574. „Or venant vers vostre grandeur, avec la figure d'or de la religion Chrestienne: i'ay pensé que ce liure contenant vne viue description des choses belles, que la main de l'orfeure vous propose en l'or & aux pierres precieuses, vous seroit tres agreable. Et pourtant, Monseigneur, comme ie m'assure que prendrez plaisir à contempler l'excellente image de la Religion que vous auez saintement & affectueusement embrassee; i'espere aussi que gousterez quelquesfois les discours Chrestiens enclos en ce liure, lequel ie pense bien offrir à toute l'Eglise de Dieu en le presentant à l'excellence de vous (...)” De Pas, Ph.: Poemes chrestiens op. cit. Aiii v.

⁸⁷ The text of Scaliger: *Descriptio simvlacri Religionis in auro & gemmis, opere elegantissimo.*, in: ibidem, Aiiii r.-v; text of Sautemont: *Description d'une image de la religion chrestienne, excellemment elabouree en or, et enrichie de pierres precieuses.* In: ibidem, Aiiii v.- Aiiiiii v.; text of Saracenus: *In effigiem avream religionis: D. Comiti Palatino cum hoc Poemata oblatam.* In: ibidem, Aiiiiii r.

⁸⁸ The statue itself is lost, according to the information of Kurpfälzisches Museum Heidelberg.

patron of the Hungarian humanist in this period. However, we have no of whether Maurice ever received a copy of this broadsheet of Szenci Molnár's. We only know that the image of True Religion was indeed used in the representation of Maurice as the ideal Calvinist ruler.⁸⁹

Thus the meaning of the image of True Religion changed at the end of the 16th century from a common religious symbol into a representation of the influence of divine Providence on human history for the sake of the Calvinist cause in Europe. This confessional theme can be frequently found in early modern history writing by other Calvinist authors in the Low Countries such as the Flemish Emanuel van Meteren (1535-1612).⁹⁰ A merchant from Antwerp living in London, in his spare time Van Meteren wrote a historical work about the Dutch uprising against the Spanish Habsburg rule.⁹¹ He described the sequence of events in the Netherlands from a providentialist point of view. At first sight the troubles in the Low Countries seemed to be either a Dutch civil war or an illegal act against the lawful king. By relating the outcome of the different phases of the Dutch uprising to similar cases elsewhere in the world, however, Van Meteren set recent Dutch history into the broader framework of the great political, religious and social developments of the 16th century. He links the revolt in the Low Countries with the Reformation in Europe, the Protestant resistance against Catholic dominance in the world and the fight against Habsburg tyranny. Van Meteren reduces world history to a struggle between good and evil, a cosmic war in which the Netherlands are the main battlefield. This war is fought between God, the Dutch nation and the Protestants on one side, and the Pope, the Habsburg dynasty, the Spanish people and the Catholic world on the other.

⁸⁹ See the titlepage of: *S.N.: Monumentum Sepulcrale, ad Illustrissimi Celsissimique Principis ac Domini, Dn. Mauritii Hassiae Landgravii ... Memoriam Gloriam Sempiternam Erectum*. Casselis 1638.

⁹⁰ *Benjamin Schmidt*: *Innocence Abroad: the Dutch Imagination and the Representation of the New World, C. 1570-1670*. Cambridge 2001. 337-339.

⁹¹ *Emanuel van Meteren*: *Belgische ofte Nederlantsche Historie / van onse tijden...* Delft 1599. About Van Meteren: *L. Brummel*: *Twee ballingen's lands tijdens onze opstand tegen Spanje*: Hugo Blotius (1534–1608). *Emanuel van Meteren (1535–1612)* Den Haag 1972; *W. Verduyn*: *Emanuel van Meteren: bijdrage tot de kennis van zijn leven, zijn tijd en het ontstaan van zijn geschiedwerk*. Den Haag 1926.

The message of Van Meteren's work is that the Calvinists in Europe, as adherents of True Religion, will triumph in the end with the help of God. The course of history, especially that of the Dutch revolt, bears witness to the operation of divine Providence in favour of the Calvinist cause, as is also expressed by the allegorical image on the title page (1599). It is similar in appearance to the already mentioned series of engravings from Antwerp, which Balten published after the Pacification of Ghent, and to the image of True Religion.⁹² Again, a symbolic figure of a woman, with a town and ships on the background, personifies the sufferings and liberation of the Low Countries from the Spanish yoke. The elaborate title page of the revised edition of 1608 shows the figure of *Religio* at the feet of *Belgica*.⁹³ It is important to keep in mind that Van Meteren came from Antwerp, knew Balten personally and maintained strong ties with his native city till his death.

This representation of the deeds of Providence through an image of True Religion is already recognisable in an elaborate allegory of the prosperity of the Netherlands made in 1603 and engraved by Henricus Hondius (1573 - ca. 1650) to a design by Hans Jordans (ca. 1555-1630).⁹⁴ (See image 8.) The print was dedicated to the members of the Dutch parliament, the Staten-Generaal. Hondius received 24 guilders for this work when he presented a second edition to the Staten-Generaal 1619.⁹⁵ A statue of True Religion forms the centre of the allegory, through which Divine Providence (with the text *Nutu Dei*, by God's command) blesses the princes of Orange, the Dutch Republic and its inhabitants. A city and ships are once again visible in the background, but this time the town is prospering and the ships are carrying merchan-

⁹² Compare with: Allegories of the suffering and liberation of the Netherlands (1577). British Museum, 1932,0213.303.

⁹³ *Emanuel van Meteren: Commentarien ofte Memorien van-den Nederlandtschen staet, handel, oorloghen ende gheschiedenissen van onsen tyden*, etc. Schotlandt buyten Danswyck [Amsterdam] 1608.

⁹⁴ De gelukkige staat van de Nederlanden. (1603) Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-80.744A. Transcription: Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-80.744B; Muller, E.: De Nederlandsche geschiedenis op. cit. 55. (nr. 1255)

⁹⁵ "Hendrick Hondius krijgt 24 gld. voor zijn aanbieding van „een tafereelcaerte van den welstant der Vereenichde Nederlanden." (Hendrick Hondius received 24 Guilders for his map.) Resolutiën Staten-Generaal Oude en Nieuwe Reeks 1576-1625. Vierde deel 1619-1620. Bewerkt door J.G. Smit met medewerking van J. Roelevink. 's-Gravenhage 1981.150. (4. June 1619); Allegorie op de welstand van de Republiek in 1619, Hendrick Hondius (I) (1619), Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-77.33.

dise to the shore. Because of the similar background and the use of the image of True Religion, it is quite possible that Jordans had Balten's image in mind. In the same year True Religion was depicted on a large map of the siege of Ostend.⁹⁶ In the same period the image of True Religion also appeared in England on the title page of the King James Bible.⁹⁷

Szenci Molnár intended, with his modest broadsheet in Hungarian and Latin, to spread to the Protestant world a message similar to Van Meteren's in his voluminous history. The combination of dialogue and image contains a political message about Hungary and Transylvania which had to fit into the framework of the confessional Calvinism of Europe. The author wanted to prove with his allegory that events in the Hungarian territories were part of the holy war in Europe between the Protestant and Catholic forces. Furthermore, the image was meant to indicate that divine Providence also influenced the course of Hungarian history through its support of the Calvinists. The peace treaty between the Calvinist Prince Bocskai in Hungary and Transylvania and the Habsburg king was to be regarded as yet another victory of True Religion in Europe. Not only in the Low Countries but also in Hungary could Providence be seen at work.

⁹⁶ Beleg van Oostende omstreeks het einde van 1603, Floris Balthasarsz. van Berckenrode, 1603. Rijkmuseum, RP-P-BI-1042.

⁹⁷ S.N.: The Workes of the Most High and Mighty Prince, James. London 1616.

2. The image of True Religion and it's reception

The work of Szenci Molnár after 1606

Although the Calvinist roots of the Bocskai rebellion were stressed abroad, and we find many Calvinist writings about the Bocskai movement in Hungary and Transylvania in about 1606, it is remarkable that the image of True Religion did not later become an important symbol of the Peace of Vienna in these territories. The broadsheet must have also found its way into Szenci Molnár's native land, but we do not possess any proof that this allegory was re-used in any image or text in Hungary or Transylvania during the first years after the Bocskai uprising.

The lack of use of this image can be understood if we consider the changed political background in the territories under Habsburg rule after the signing of the peace treaty in 1606.⁹⁸ The Habsburg dynasty had been in a grave crisis around 1600, because of the weakness and illness of the emperor, the dispute over the succession, the conflict between Protestant and Catholic forces in Europe and the rising tide of Calvinism in the Habsburg territories. Meanwhile, the Bocskai uprising broke out. In April 1605 Archduke Matthias, after a secret meeting with his siblings in Linz, took the lead in forcing a solution to this crisis. He opened negotiations with Bocskai and made peace with the Hungarians in June 1606. In November, with Bocskai's help and against the wishes of his brother Rudolf, archduke Matthias was able to agree with the Ottomans on the Treaty of Zsitvatorok. Bocskai died at the end of December 1606. Emperor Rudolf refused to ratify the peace treaty with the Ottomans, because he feared divine Providence. He was said to believe the suggestions of certain Catholics that the plague, which raved Bohemia, was a divine punishment for his toleration granted to the Protestants.⁹⁹ His refusal was grist to the mill for the militant Calvinists.

⁹⁸ *Victor-L. Tapié*: The Rise and Fall of the Habsburg Monarchy. Translated out of French by Stephen Hardman. London 1971. 86.

⁹⁹ *Benjamin J. Kaplan*: Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe. Cambridge, Massachusetts - London 2009. 114.

Unfortunately, the signing of the Treaty of Vienna between the Habsburg ruler and the rebellious Hungarian Estates did not resolve the unstable political situation in Hungary. In 1607 the Haidus, irregular soldiers and former supporters of Bocskai, threatened to resume their rebellion. In January 1608 Archduke Matthias made a pact with the Protestant Estates of Hungary and openly opposed his brother Rudolf during the so-called *Brüderzwist*.¹⁰⁰ The Estates of Austria and Moravia followed the example of the Hungarians. In June 1608 Matthias assumed rule over the territories of Hungary, Austria and Moravia; the holy crown of Hungary was handed over at Libeň, near Prague, and in November that year he was crowned Mátyás II of Hungary. The political compromise between the Protestant and Catholic Estates and the Habsburg king resulted in religious freedom for Lutherans and Calvinists, while the rights of the Catholics were respected. Instead of the image of True Religion, the so-called holy crown of Hungary and the figure of the Blessed Virgin became the symbols of this political and religious compromise between Protestants, Catholics and the Habsburg king.¹⁰¹ The image, description and history of the holy crown were frequently used in an allegorical way by Protestant and Catholic authors alike in Hungary after 1608 to describe and legitimate this compromise, for instance in the work of Elias Berger (1608)¹⁰², Johannes Jessenius (1609)¹⁰³, Péter Révay (1613)¹⁰⁴, Christoph Lackner (1614)¹⁰⁵ and Johannes Bocatius (1614).¹⁰⁶ The

¹⁰⁰ Géza Pálffy: Bündnispartner und Konkurrenten der Krone: die ungarischen Stände, Stefan Bocskai und Erzherzog Matthias 1604-1608. In: Ein Bruderzwist im Hause Habsburg (1608-1611). Václav Bůžek ed. (Opera historica, 14.) České Budějovice 2010. 363-399.

¹⁰¹ See: Kees Teszelszky: Az ismeretlen korona. Jelentések, szimbólumok és nemzeti identitás. Pannonhalma 2009.

¹⁰² Elias Berger: D.O.M. Jubilaeus de origine, errore et restitutione S. Coronae Hungariae Regni fortiss. ac felicissi. Praeterea corolla mixta ad faelicissimam ac meritiss: coronationem novi regis Hungariae pijßimè status. S.l. 1608. RMK III. 1054.

¹⁰³ Johann Jessenius [János Jeszenszky]: Regis Ungariae, Matthiae II. coronatio; Johan: Jessenio a Jessen, Regio Medico, Descriptore. Adiecta, regni, regumque Pannoniae, brevis Chronographia. Viennae 1609. RMK III 1071.

¹⁰⁴ Petrus de Rewa [Péter Révay]: De sacrae coronae regni Hungariae ortu, virtute, victoria, fortuna, annos ultra D C clarissimae, brevis commentarius. Augustae Vindelicorum 1613, RMK III. 1118.

¹⁰⁵ Christophor Lackner: Coronae Hungariae emblematicae descriptio. Lavingae Suevorum 1615. RMK III 1156

¹⁰⁶ Ioannes Bocatius: Matthiados carmina heroica libri duo. Cassoviae 1614. RMNy II 1066; RMK II. 356a.

political compromise and the coronation ceremony in 1608 were thus a revival and renewal of the ancient cult of the holy crown of Hungary.

Szenci Molnár was strongly opposed to use by the Protestants of the cults of the holy crown and the Virgin Mary, as he wrote in the foreword to an edition of writings which was printed in 1618.¹⁰⁷ This work consisted of a Hungarian translation of a German sermon by Abraham Scultetus, published in 1617 on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of the Reformation.¹⁰⁸ As Calvinist court preacher to the Elector Palatine Frederick V., Scultetus was one of the leading Calvinist spokesmen in Europe.¹⁰⁹ He was a strong defender of the political message about the war of the Protestants against Catholic domination. Scultetus warned in his sermon against the dangers of Catholicism, which he linked to the use of statues and images in Protestant churches. As an appendix to this translation Molnár published the translation of other writings by various persons about the use of idols and images in the Church and the danger of Catholicism.¹¹⁰ Szenci Molnár used the content of this translation in his afterword, which was dedicated to Prince Gábor Bethlen, who had been elected prince of Transylvania in 1613. He warned against the veneration of the holy crown of Hungary, and of St Mary as the patron Saint of Hungary (*Patrona Hungariae*).¹¹¹ According to him, the revival of the superstitious cults of Mary and the crown would lead back to Catholic

¹⁰⁷ *Secularis concio euangelica, az az jubileus esztendei praedikatzó* [!], mellyben az euangeliumnac ez előtt száz esztendővel Isten kegyelméből uyonnán kinyilatkoztatása [!], terjedése és megtartása örvendetes haláadással előszámláltatic es megdiczirtetic. Németül praedikáltatott Haydelbergában... az Sz. Lélec nevő öreg egyházban, Mindszent hónap 2. napján 1617. esztendőben Scultetus Abraham által. Szenci Molnár Albert ford. Oppenheimii 1618. RMNy II. 1166; RMK I. 482.

¹⁰⁸ *Albert Szenci Molnár*: Appendix de idolo Lauretani, quod Julium III. Romanum episcopum et quosdam ejus successores non puduit in tanta luce Evangelii, undique erumpente, velut in contemptum Dei atque hominum approbare. Cum monitione Petri Pauli Vergerii et aliorum. In: *ibidem*, 75-102.

¹⁰⁹ *Abraham Scultetus*: Evangelische Jubel-Jahrs-Predigt: zu Heidelberg den 2. Novembris anno 1617 in der Kirche zum H. Geist gehalten. Heidelberg 1617.

¹¹⁰ *Béla Holl*: Ferenczffy Lőrinc: Egy magyar könyvkiadó a XVII. században. Budapest 1980. 79-83; *Vásárhelyi, J.*: Eszmei áramlatok op. cit. 58-62; *Sándor Bene*: A Szilveszter-bulla nyomában. Pázmány Péter és a Szent István-hagyomány 17. századi fordulópontja. A Ráday Gyűjtemény Évkönyvei 10. (2002) 39-80.

¹¹¹ *Szenci Molnár, J.*: *Secularis* op. cit. 3r.

tyranny, as it had been before at the time of the foundation of the Kingdom of Hungary by the sainted King István in the year 1000.

Why did Szenci Molnár oppose these images which were so dear to many of his fellow Protestants in Hungary and Transylvania? His disapproval can be linked to a political dispute between Protestants and Catholics some years earlier in Hungary, in which the meaning of these symbols played a major role. This controversy was about which religion was to blame for the deplorable state of the Kingdom of Hungary, and how the role of Divine Providence in Hungarian history could best be interpreted. The polemics started with the publishing of a tract by the Lutheran preacher István Magyari (?-1605) on the causes of diverse evils in countries.¹¹² It was published in 1602, probably with the support of the powerful Hungarian Lutheran magnate Ferenc Nádasdy. The work also possibly reflects the opinions of his patron. Magyari, court preacher to Nádasdy, wrote it in reply to Catholic allegations that the anarchy and moral degradation of the country were caused by the conversion to Protestantism of the majority of the inhabitants.¹¹³ Magyari combined Protestant eschatological discourse with a Lutheran interpretation of Hungarian history. His main argument was that the Catholics were to blame for the ruination of the country because they had moved away from true religion and worshipped saints and images.

The Jesuit Péter Pázmány (1570-1637), ideological leader of the Hungarian Counter-Reformation, accepted Magyari's challenge and wrote a reply which left the printer in 1603.¹¹⁴ He adopted Magyari's providentialist line of thought and turned it into a defence of the True Church of Christ. The focus of his argument relied on an interpretation of the glorious Catholic medieval past

¹¹² *István Magyari: Az országokban való soc romlasoknak okairol es azokbol valo meg szabadvlasnac io modgiarol mostan vyonnan irattatot es sok bölts embereknek irasokbol szereztetet hasznos könyuetske. Magyari Istvan sarvari praedicator altal. Sárvár 1602. RMNy II. 890; RMK I. 379.*

¹¹³ *István Bitskey: Hitviták tüzeben. Budapest 1978. 178-179; László Makkai: Magyari és műve. István Magyari: Az országokban való sok romlásoknak okairól. Tamás Katona ed. Budapest 1979. 187-206.*

¹¹⁴ *Péter Pázmány: Felelet Magyari István sárvári prédikátornak az ország romlása okairul írt könyvére. Nagyszombat 1603. RMNy 833; RMK I. 385.* Pázmány was the toughest disseminator of the Catholic faith, a leader of the counter-Reformation and the most influential 'ecclesiastical politician' of his time in Hungary. It was due to his efforts that the majority of the aristocracy of Hungary – including the Nádasdy family – returned to Catholicism.

of the kingdom, which contrasted with its present deplorable state caused by the Protestants. Pázmány countered the Protestant providentialist interpretation of the present by pointing to the mediation between God and the Hungarian nation through the cult of saints and the use of other national symbols associated with Catholicism, like the holy crown of Hungary.

The successful compromise between Protestants, Catholics and the house of Habsburg in Hungary and the concluding of the peace with the Ottomans in 1606 could be interpreted as a sign of the approval of Divine Providence. But the Calvinists were not satisfied with the outcome. Seen from the Calvinist point of view, the revival by Lutheran authors of the Hungarian political symbols of Catholic origin was a step back to the Catholic roots of the kingdom. The Calvinist Szenci Molnár was not alone with this opinion: his friend, the influential Lutheran writer, diplomat and humanist János Rimay from Bocskai's court had had a similarly negative opinion of Antonio Bonfini's writings on the 'angelic origin' of the crown, as he scribbled in the margin of his own copy of Bonfini's history.¹¹⁵ Another important Protestant benefactor, András Asztalos, described his anger at the revival of the Hungarian national symbols in a letter to Szenci Molnár on 20 February 1610.¹¹⁶

The function and meaning of these symbols in Hungarian political culture after 1608 also undermined the most important political message of the Calvinist hard-liners in Europe, as propagated by Scultetus and Szenci Molnár. According to them, Calvinism was the solution for the crisis in Europe and Providence would only support those who adhere the True Religion of Calvinist faith. The successful political compromise of 1608 and the works of such Catholic and Lutheran authors in Hungary as Berger, Jessenius and Révay proved them wrong. Szenci Molnár's attack was therefore aimed in the first place at these authors and the political programme that they stood for, as Catholic and Lutheran Hungarians were lured back to the Catholic camp by a false promise of peace. He did this in 1618, exactly a hundred years after the start of the Lutheran Reformation.

¹¹⁵ *Ágnes Ritoókné Szalay*: Rimaiana. ITK 6. (1986) 665-667.

¹¹⁶ *Dézsí, L.*: Szenczi Molnár op. cit. 337-339.

The image of True Religion as a religious symbol after 1608

Although not so frequently used as in Western Europe, the image of True Religion was still in use in Protestant circles of Hungary and Transylvania after 1608. This is shown by the content of a poem about the image of Christian religion, written by the already mentioned Hungarian humanist Rimay, who was a Lutheran.¹¹⁷ The undated verse remained as a manuscript in the Rimay-Madách codex, which has been preserved in the National Széchényi Library of Hungary.¹¹⁸ It is a separate handwritten text, which was bound together with other similar writings by Rimay. The text mentions an image, but this has not been preserved or has never been made.

We have no definite proof of when Rimay wrote this work, for what occasion it was produced or what goal the author had in mind when writing it. When Tibor Klaniczay tried to figure out the date of this work, he did not know about the existence of the broadsheet of 1606.¹¹⁹ He therefore argued that Rimay's poem was dated after 1624, when Szenci Molnár re-used the image of True Religion for his edition of the translation of Calvin's *Institutio*, which we will deal with after this.

We have, however, no proof that Rimay was inspired by Szenci Molnár's broadsheet. It is very likely that Rimay used another earlier version of the allegory, as there are some major differences between the visual and textual content of Szenci Molnár's broadsheet and Rimay's description. Most striking is that Rimay does not write about the crown on the head of Religion, which is a quite notable and meaningful feature of the engraving by Balten and Custos, and which is also described in both dialogues. All the female figures which were inspired by Beza lack a crown, except those by Balten and Custos. It is therefore unlikely that Rimay made use of Szenci Molnár's work. As we have seen, many

¹¹⁷ Pál Ács: A hallgatás művészete. In: Színlelés és rejtőzködés. A kora újkori magyar politika szerepjátékai. Szerk. Horn Ildikó – G. Etényi Nóra. Budapest 2010. 24

¹¹⁸ OSZK Quart. Hung. 3245. fol. 57-70. Published as: Rimay János írásai. Pál Ács ed. (Régi Magyar Könyvtár, Források 1.) Budapest 1992. 159-162, 307.

¹¹⁹ Tibor Klaniczay: Hozzászólás Balassi és Rimay verseinek kritikái kiadásához. A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia I. Nyelv- és Irodalomtudományi Osztályának Közleményei. 9. (1957) 323

Calvinist copies of Beza's image were made everywhere in Europe. We can therefore state that Rimay must have had a version of Beza's allegory in his possession, or perhaps owned a later copy of it. Moreover, the verse cannot be used as a proof that Rimay ever possessed a copy of Szenci Molnár's broadsheet.

The figure of True Religion in Rimay's work has a meaning quite different to that of Szenci Molnár's. Its content is much closer to Beza's original, but the dialogue is much longer. Rimay re-worked the original theme into a pure religious allegory, without a sign of any current political meaning. According to the description, the figure of religion personifies the entire Christian religion. Unfortunately, we do not know exactly when Rimay's work was written, as it lacks any reference to an actual political event. As Beza's work was widely read all over Europe in the 16th century it is certainly possible that this verse of Rimay's is even older than the text on Szenci Molnár's broadsheet. He does not provide us with a clue as to why he wrote this work, if he had a certain audience in mind, or if it was written for a certain occasion. Nor have we any information on whether this manuscript was ever published in Molnár's own time, nor can we be sure if it was even used by other authors. As such, it remains an isolated work about the image of True Religion, which only demonstrates the early-modern re-use of it in Hungary or Transylvania.

A dialogue between Religion and Prince Gábor Bethlen (1620)

The revival of the political use of the image of True Religion in Hungary actually started in Germany. In 1620 a broadsheet was published with a German language conversation between Gábor Bethlen, prince of Transylvania, and a personification of Religion and the Hungarians.¹²⁰ This print was illustrated with an elaborate depiction of Religion, the Hungarian prince and armed men dressed in as Hungarians. A ruin and bare, perhaps even smoking mountains are visible in the background. Unfortunately it is not known where this print was published, nor does it reveal who was the original author or the artist of the image. The only known copy of this print was found in Göttingen.

The image and text of the broadsheet are an expression of the political message which Bethlen wanted to spread into Europe. (See also the German text and the Hungarian translation in the appendix.) In 1619 Bethlen, prince of Transylvania (1613-1629), had started a military campaign on the territory of Hungary against the Habsburg king, on the pretext that he wished to defend the constitutional and religious liberties of the Kingdom of Hungary against the attempts of Ferdinand to impose Catholicism on the country. Bethlen started a propaganda campaign in the Protestant lands, just as Bocskai had done in 1604-1606. An important text was the declaration titled *Querela Hungariae*, issued in German and Latin, in which Bethlen was presented as the defender of Protestant liberties in Hungary.¹²¹ This pamphlet was spread also together with a broadsheet bearing an image of Bethlen on a

¹²⁰ Wahre Contrafactur unnd Abbildung/ deß Durchleuchtigen/ Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herren/ Herrn Betlehem Gabor/ Fürsten in Siebenbürgen/ [et]c. : Sampt einem Gespräch zwischen demselben und der Religion/ sampt dero zugethanen gemeinen Landständen gegenwertiges Kriegswesen betreffendt. [S.l.] 1620. Published in: Der Dreißigjährige Krieg: Eine Sammlung von historischen Gedichten und Prosadarstellungen. Julius Otto – Adolf Cohn hrsg. Halle 1862. 34-38; *Krisztina Varsányi*: Bethlen Gábor megjelenése a korabeli röplapokon. Kút 3. (2007) 132-177; *Darren Paul Foster*: Foreign Heroes and Catholic Villains: Radical Protestant Propaganda of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Modern Languages, University of Exeter in April 2012. 84-94; *Nóra G. Etényi*: Politika és publicisztikai kontextus. Bethlen Gábor a Német-római Birodalomban kiadott nyomtatványokban (1619-1622). In: Bethlen Gábor és Európa. Gábor Kármán – Kees Tszelszky eds. Budapest 2013. 271.

¹²¹ [*Péter Alvinczi*]: *Querela Hvangariae*. Magyarország panasza. [Kassa 1619]. RMNy 4159; RMK I. 507.

horse and a text with a similar content in Hungarian, German and Latin.¹²² This work was printed in Heidelberg, the home of Szenci Molnár, and thus could have been written as well as translated by him. The reason for the publication of a Hungarian language broadsheet in Germany could have been the wish to influence the opinion of Hungarian-speaking students and other Hungarians in the German lands.

The addressee of the broadsheet with Religion, Bethlen and the Hungarians must have been the German Protestant public. The Calvinist prince is described in the text by Religion as the defender of the Protestant Church against the pope, without any reference to his Calvinist background. Just as was stated in Bethlen's declaration, the Catholics and the Catholic (Habsburg) rulers were to blame for the ruin of the country, as was also seen on the background of the image.

At first sight, the content of this broadsheet seems far from the traditional depiction of True Religion and the dialogue between her and Man. It cannot be a re-working of Szenci Molnár's broadsheet, as both text and image lack a Calvinist meaning. This work can, nevertheless, be considered an adaptation of the already well known theme, tailored to the political situation at the beginning of the year 1620. This time Religion is personified not only by the figure of a woman, but also by Bethlen himself and even by the Hungarians too. This is why Bethlen has been placed in the very centre of the composition while Religion stands at the side, among the Hungarians. The soldiers and Bethlen are not involved in the battle in the background, but are lamenting, together with Religion in the foreground, the destruction of their fatherland. Not only Religion, but also Bethlen and the ordinary Hungarians address the reader in the name of the true Protestant Church. In Bethlen's words, the campaign of the Hungarian army led by him against the pope and his minions is the same as God's own struggle against evil to protect true religion. Bethlen and the Hungarians present themselves as Christian knights fighting in the name of Religion, to protect the True Church and their fatherland. The Hungarians complain about the devastation of their

¹²² Gabriel Bethlen D. G. Princeps Transylvaniae part. Regni Hungariae Dominus et sicularum comes et Aetatis suae XXXVIII. Anno Christi MCCXIX. Heidelberg 1619. British Museum, 1850,0223.389. See: *G. Etényi, N.: Politika és publicisztikai op. cit. 267; Varsányi, K.: Bethlen Gábor op. cit. 168-170.*

country, symbolised by the bare land and ruins in the background, which is the work of the pope and his helpers, the Catholic Habsburg ruler and the Catholics.

In this case, the work was not a protest in print against the consequences of an unjust war fought in the name of a sanctimonious interpretation of the Catholic faith, but a pledge to support the Protestant Prince Gábor Bethlen in his just struggle to defend the True Church against the Catholics. In this way, the content of this broadsheet fits neatly into the intellectual framework of Bethlen propaganda, which was spread among the Protestant public in Europe at that time.¹²³

The image of True Religion and Szenci Molnár's Hungarian translation of Calvin's *Institutio* (1624)

The image of True Religion reappeared in Hungary on the title page of the Hungarian translation of Jean Calvin's *Institutio*, which was published in 1624.¹²⁴ This principal work of Calvin's constituted a thorough explanation of the basic dogma of True Religion, that is, Calvinism, for ordinary people. Originally published in 1536, it was several times expanded till its final edition in 1559. This latest version was what Szenci Molnár translated into Hungarian.

The image of True Religion was often used as a printer's emblem and in one instance the poem was also printed with it on some of the title pages of the French editions of this work.¹²⁵ Not only

¹²³ Hanna Vincze Orsolya: Piety and Industry. In: Whose Love of Which Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe. Balász Trencsényi and Márton Zászkaliczky eds. Leiden - Boston 2010. 338-339; Kees Teszelszky: Magyarország és Erdély képe Németalföldön a Bocskai-felkelés és Bethlen Gábor hadjáratai idején 1604-1626. In: Bethlen Gábor és Európa. op. cit. 203-244; G. Etényi, N.: Politika és publicisztikai op. cit. 245-276; Krisztina Varsányi: Bethlen Gábor királlyá választása a korabeli német nyelvű nyomtatott sajtóműfajokban. In: ibidem, 275-310; Gábor Almási: Bethlen és a törökösség kérdése a korabeli propagandában és politikában. In: ibidem, 311-366.

¹²⁴ Jean Calvin: Az keresztyeni religiora es igaz hitre valo tanitas, melyet deakul irt Calvinus Janos, es osztan francia, angliai, belgiai, olasz, német, cseh és egyéb nyelvekre fordítottanac, mostan pedig az magyar nemzetnek isteni igazsagban való épületire magyar nyelvre fordított Molnar Albert, hasznos és bővséges registromockal egyetemben. Szenci Molnár Albert ford. Hanovia 1624. RMNy II. 1308; RMK I. 540.

¹²⁵ P. Vásárhelyi, J.: Szenci Molnár Albert Institutio-fordítása. op. cit. 14.

the figure of True Religion but the poem too is visible on the title pages made by the printer Jean Martin in Lyon and Geneva for the French editions of the *Institutio* in 1565.¹²⁶ This means that even before Molnár's edition the connection was made between the subject-matter of the *Institutio* and the poem and image by Beza, the successor to Calvin. Molnár must therefore have known one of the editions of 1565, as the richly decorated title page preceding the translation of Calvin's work included the personification of Religion. (See image 11.) The dialogue in Hungarian between Religion and Man is printed elsewhere in the book on a separate page. There also exists a manuscript of the same dialogue, titled *Descriptio Religionis*. This text must have been written with Szeneci Molnár's dialogue in mind, but only the last six lines resemble Molnár's Hungarian translation of Beza's text.¹²⁷

The allegorical composition of the title page is the product of the already mentioned ideological struggle between Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists in Hungary and Transylvania in the beginning of the 17th century. Pázmány countered the Protestant providentialist interpretation of the present by pointing to the mediation between God and the Hungarian nation through the cult of saints and the use of other national symbols associated with Catholicism, such as the holy crown of Hungary.

Pázmány promoted the cause of the Catholic Church in Hungary why the composition of his monumental work *Isteni igazságra vezерleo kalauz* (Guide to the Divine Truth), which was published in 1613.¹²⁸ The message of this book is about the providential relation between God and the Hungarian nation, which is depicted in allegorical fashion on the engraved title page. (See image 9.) The allegory is divided into three levels: a national, a divine and an intermediate level between heaven and earth, which consists of the Hungarian saints and other Catholic symbols of the Hungarian nation. The arms of Hungary are placed at the bottom as the symbol of the kingdom and the Hungarians. The title of the book in the centre is flanked by figures of four saints of the house of

¹²⁶ Jean Calvin: Institution de la religion chrestienne, nouvellement mise en quatre livres et distinguée par chapitre en ordre et methode bien propre. Lyon 1565.

¹²⁷ „Descriptio Religionis”. Beregszászi Tóth Péter gyűjtemény (1736–1738). Debrecen, Ref. Koll. R. 670/I–II., fol. 22a–b.)

¹²⁸ Péter Pázmány: Isteni igazságra vezерleo kalauz. / Mellyet írta, Pazmany Peter jesuitak rendin valo tanito. Poson 1613. RMNy 1059; RMK I 443.

Árpád, the first royal dynasty of the Kingdom of Hungarian. They can be identified as King St István, King St László, St Elisabeth of Hungary and St Imre, the son of St István, who died at an early age. Both kings wear the holy crown of Hungary. Above these, a statue of the Virgin Mary as Patron Saint of Hungary is visible. She is crowned by the IHS sign of the Jesuits. Two angels are praying next to this sign together with statues of SS Martin and Adelbert, who were considered important saints in Hungarian territories.

In the same year as Pázmány's book was brought out the Hungarian Lutheran politician Péter Révay (Petrus de Rewa) published his aforementioned famous work in Latin about the holy crown of Hungary with the publisher that issued Szenci Molnár's broadsheet.¹²⁹ Révay legitimated the political compromise of 1608 between the Habsburg ruler and the Catholic and Protestant Hungarian estates through an allegorical description of the origin, history and meaning of the holy crown. According to him, Divine Providence guides the whole Hungarian nation, Catholics and Protestants alike, and the entire kingdom and its inhabitants, through the meaning of the holy crown, which can be understood from an interpretation of its history. Révay expresses this meaning in an allegorical image after the title page engraved by Wolfgang Kilian of Augsburg, Custos's stepson of. (See image 10.) It consists of a depiction of the Hungarian crown, which is borne by angels between heaven (the sun) and earth (the Hungarian coat of arms). The crown is dotted with images of Catholic and Hungarian saints, which he also describes in the book. These do not exist in reality on the crown jewel which is still present in present-day Hungary, but they form an important part of the theory behind Révay's history of the crown. This allegory symbolises the Divine guidance of the Hungarian nation in the history of the kingdom through the political and religious meaning of its common national symbol. Révay incorporates the same Catholic symbols as Pázmány in his political theory, but tries to turn them into national symbols for Catholics and Protestants alike.

Pázmány's influential work, which was an important tool in the Counter-Reformation in Hungary, must have been an important motivation for Szenci Molnár's translation and publication of Calvin's *Institutio* in 1624. The engraved title page of the transla-

¹²⁹ Révay, P.: De sacrae coronae op. cit.

tion can be viewed as the Calvinist mirror of Pázmány's Counter-Reformation allegory.¹³⁰ (See image 11.) It can also be understood as a reaction to Révay's allegorical image of the holy crown.¹³¹ These three works perfectly illustrate the ideological struggle between Catholic, Lutheran and Calvinist authors in Hungary at the beginning of the 17th century. Moreover, Szenci Molnár's work and its title page are also a sign of a new Calvinist approach towards saints and sanctity in Hungary and Transylvania, which is related to developments elsewhere in Europe, such as in the Netherlands.

The title page of *Institutio* is divided into three levels just like its Catholic and Lutheran counterparts, but with a very different concept in mind. The top of the allegorical composition is formed by the arms of Hungary, which can be viewed as the symbol of the kingdom and the Hungarian Protestant nation. It does not bear the holy crown of Hungary, but it is decorated with a neutral one. The arms are flanked by two separate images, which are depictions of the well known Protestant theme of the broad and the narrow way. These small allegories show the two paths by which the Hungarian nation can go: one leads to heaven, the other to hell. The right way for the nation is shown by two female figures: the already familiar *Religio* as a personification of True Religion and *Fides* (faith). Only the Calvinist knowledge of True Religion and faith will lead the Hungarian nation to heaven. The knowledge is provided by Calvin and Szenci Molnár, whose portraits are visible at the bottom of the title page. The Hungarian theologian and translator is depicted as an old man. In the background of his portrait we can see him being tortured by the Tilly's soldiers after the fall of Heidelberg in 1622. Here Szenci Molnár expresses the particular narrow way which he himself followed in life, which is illustrated by some biblical quotations in the composition. The re-

¹³⁰ *Viskolcz, N.*: Vagyon egy kis Varos op. cit. 76-84; *Szabó, A.*: Szenci Molnár op. cit. 31–51.

¹³¹ The polemic between Pázmány and Molnár was continued by Tamás Balásfi, a co-worker of Pázmány and Bishop of Bosnia, who wrote a reply on the Jubileus work of Szenci Molnár. He defended the saintness of the holy crown of Hungary. *Tamás Balásfi*: Christiana responsio ad libellum Calvinisticum Alberti Molnar Hungari, pedagogi Oppenheimensis. In quo & Saecularis Concio Abrahami Sculteti Calvinistae Praedicantis, ex Germanico Idiomate in Hungaricum versa est; et Sacrosancta B. Virginis Aedes Lauretana, Idoli Lauretani convicio blasphemata. Viennae 1621. RMK III. 1321. 14–18.

ference to the narrow gate and the broad way (Matthew 7:13) points to the his austere life and work. A quotation from the Epistle to the Galatians (But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world. Gal. 6:14) is written above the scene of him being tortured for his Calvinist religion. Two books are depicted on the title page: the *Evangelium aeternae pacis* held by Religion and the octavo book in the hands of the portrait of Szenci Molnár. Both refer to Molnár's Oppenheim edition of the Bible. The Calvinist emphasis on the Bible, which is expressed and analysed by Calvin in *Institutio*, was thus depicted in an allegorical way on the title page. The composition can therefore also be considered as an allegory of the life and work of Szenci Molnár himself.¹³²

Szenci Molnár accused the Hungarian Lutherans and Catholics of the cult of personalities, saints and symbols. The Reformed tradition too, however, has known many of its own mini-popes, saints, and venerated symbols, as the Dutch historian John Exalto has sufficiently demonstrated.¹³³ They fit into Protestant ecclesiastical structures and are labelled differently, but in nature and function do not differ significantly from their Roman Catholic counterparts. The composition of the title page demonstrates the same impulse towards the heroes and allegories of its own tradition, such as the portrait of Calvin, the symbol of True Religion and the idea of the elect nation, expressed by the arms of Hungary.

The controversy over images that took place in Hungary and Transylvania at the beginning of the 17th century, therefore, must be recognized as one of the elements of the self-affirmation of the Calvinist movement. As the Dutch historian Willem van Asselt has shown, a similar movement can be recognised in the Dutch Republic and in Calvinist territories elsewhere.¹³⁴ The image controversy during the Reformation did not only concern iconoclasm, the destruction of material images and the attack on symbols related to the Catholic tradition. It also involved an "iconoclasm", a clash between various mental depictions or divergent images of the divine or the sacred. In this way, the internal Protestant

¹³² *Imre, M.*: Szenci Molnár op. cit. 58-59.

¹³³ *John Exalto*: Gereformeerde heiligen. Nijmegen 2005.

¹³⁴ *Willem J. van Asselt*: The Prohibition of Images and Protestant Identity. In: Iconoclasm and Iconoclasm: the Struggle for Religious Identity. W. van Asselt, P. van Geest, D. Müller, and T. Salemink eds. Leiden 2007. 308.

controversy over images between Lutherans and Calvinists contributed to the genesis and demarcation of the various Protestant identities in Hungary and Transylvania.

Moreover, the image of the sacred was used as a tool for a negative typecasting of “the other”. These bad stereotypes could be used for the Roman Catholic Church, its adherents and the authority represented by the Catholic Habsburg dynasty, which were opposed to the positive stereotype of the Hungarians or Dutch as “elected nation” or “chosen people”. It was also applied to attack certain ethnic groups inside or outside the country, like the Spanish, the Turks or the (Catholic) Germans. This need to judge and condemn others appears to be essential for drawing up and protecting Protestant identities, not only in the Dutch Republic and Germany, but also in Hungary and Transylvania.¹³⁵

The title page is thus a demonstration of this changed Calvinist world view as seen through the eyes of Szenci Molnár. Although he rejected the saints and symbols of the Catholic tradition in Hungary, his allegorical composition still contains several elements of the developing cult of persons in European Calvinism. The main characteristic of this cult was a new Protestant model of saintliness as a reaction to the old Catholic one, for which Exalto used the notion of “Living Saints”.¹³⁶ These “Living Saints” of the Protestant tradition were living or recently deceased Protestants, who could serve as role models for ordinary believers because of their virtuous lives and deeds. These Protestant saints were not venerated in the same way as the Catholic saints, but were imitated as role models. Exalto divides these “Living Saints” into three types: the prophet, the king and the martyr. The Biblical model of the virtuous prophet, king or martyr was carried on by the living example of the fathers of the Reformation, the Calvinist rulers and the martyrs for the Protestant belief, who suffered from the Counter-reformation.

Szenci Molnár presented two types of these “Living Saints” on his title page: the prophet and the martyr. The figure of Calvin serves as a model for the Calvinist prophet, who shows the way to True Religion and Faith. Szenci Molnár places himself next to Calvin as a Hungarian Calvinist martyr. In the background of his

¹³⁵ Asselt, W. van: *The Prohibition of Images* op. cit. 310.

¹³⁶ Exalto, J.: *Gereformeerde heiligen*. op. cit.

portrait, we can see him being tortured for his Calvinist beliefs. His work, which follows the title page, is the sure proof that he still persisted in his religion. Through this work and the depiction of himself in the allegorical composition with the depiction of his fate, Szenci Molnár shows a true example of the virtuous life of the true Calvinist. His fate is mirrored in part of the dialogue with True Religion: "Everywhere I suffer great violence and indignity, but through suffering I gather strength and shall finally ascend to God."¹³⁷

The title page lacks a depiction of an ideal king. This figure is, however, present in the book. Szenci Molnár dedicated his work to Gábor Bethlen, prince of Transylvania. The dedication can be found after the title page and before the text of the dialogue about Religion. It addresses the prince as the benign patron of the Hungarian nation gathered in the 'mother church'.¹³⁸ Prince Bethlen was thus portrayed as the living Calvinist saintly ruler of Transylvania.

The dedication thus contains a response to Pázmány's allegory and the Catholic ideas that it represents.¹³⁹ Szenci Molnár describes the history of Hungary from a Calvinist point of view, which can be understood as a reaction to the work of Magyari, Pázmány and Révay. According to Szenci Molnár, Bethlen is the defender (patron) of the Hungarian nation congregated in the Church. Providence has led the nation out of darkness into the light of the True Religion, just as it did the people of Israel. When the Hungarian nation had been led out of Scythia there ensued a period of darkness, in which the Catholic Church tried to delude them with images of the Blessed Virgin, holy kings and other saints. When the books of the great reformed churchmen such as Zwingli and Luther reached Hungary the nation emerged from the dark. Calvin's *Institutio*, translated by Szenci Molnár, is a gift of God, will edify the holy Church and mount yet another attack on the kingdom of the devil.

The addition of the image and the dialogue about True Religion to Calvin's principal work also contains a political message

¹³⁷ "Mindenütt nagy erőszakot / Szenvedek méltatlanságot / De szenvedvén erőt vészek / S végre Istenhez felmégyek." *Szenci Molnár, A.: Az keresztyéni religióra op. cit. E3r.*

¹³⁸ „A Magyar Nemzetségben gyueytoett Christus anya szent Egyházának kegyes Patronusának.” Ibidem, A2.

¹³⁹ Ibidem, A2-A3.

about Hungary and Transylvania, which again fits into the frame of European confessional Calvinist thought. The author wanted to show by means of his allegory that the destiny of the Calvinist community in the Hungarian-speaking territories was closely connected with that of Calvinism elsewhere in the world. The very publication of this book is at the same time a reflection of Calvinist solidarity, as many Calvinists all over Europe supported its translation and printing. Szenci Molnár expresses special thanks for the support of the Dutch Calvinists for the realisation of this work. These words of gratitude also show the close relations between Dutch and Hungarian Calvinists at that time.

The allegory of the Stadhouder of Orange (1624)

I have already stated that the use of the image of True Religion was widespread in the Dutch Republic at the beginning of the 17th century. This was especially true in the period when the *Institutio* was issued. As stated, the image of True Religion was used many times as a part of an allegorical composition about the Calvinist virtues of the Dutch Republic. All of these images legitimate the authority of the Dutch Stadhouder as a true Calvinist prince and a leader of the Calvinist nation. We must bear in mind that the Stadhouder was not a sovereign ruler of the country, though he did play an important symbolic role in the political life of the Republic. He was in the service of the States of the Staten-Generaal. Given that his responsibilities were chiefly military in nature, he was also closely involved in shaping the Republic's foreign policy and maintaining contacts with other states. This, and his personal authority based on successful military campaigns, gave a Stadhouder an almost sovereign position in the Dutch republic.

In the period 1609-1618, moreover, the image of True Religion in combination with the image of the True Prince served in the political and religious conflict between the Arminians and the orthodox Calvinists. Prince Maurice of Orange was depicted as the personification of a "Living Saint", because of his support for the Calvinist cause. The Dutch Republic was depicted as the promised land of the Dutch, which prospered because of their adherence to the True Religion of Calvinism.

The most striking Dutch allegorical composition with the image of True Religion was published in 1624, the same year as Szenci Molnár's translation. This famous allegory is about Stadhouder Prince Maurice of Orange in his symbolic role as the ideal Calvinist ruler of the Dutch Republic.¹⁴⁰ (See image 12.) It was printed on a large sheet of paper, the so-called 'imperiaal' (77 by 44 cm.), so that it could be hung on a wall.¹⁴¹ The composition was designed and executed by the Dutch artist Adrianus van Nieuwelandt (1586-1658) and engraved by the Dutch printmaker Simon van de Passe (1595-1647). The image was accompanied by a verse from the famous Dutch poet Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655). We have no information about who printed this unusually large print.

Prince Maurice is portrayed as the defender of freedom and religion for the Dutch Republic and its allies. He is shown in the centre, seated on a draped pedestal. Above him two angels sound trumpets and hold a wreath between them, and on either side of him are *Libertas* (freedom) and *Religio* (a personification of Religion). The female personifications of the prosperity of the United Provinces (Trade, justice, Wisdom and Victory) are set at his feet. Native Americans and aboriginal inhabitants of the Dutch East Indies stand next to and behind the figure of Liberty on the left. These people were liberated from the Spanish yoke by the Dutch, according to Dutch propaganda of that time.¹⁴² A person with a turban on his head stands next to the figure of Religion. A man dressed as a Hungarian is placed between Religion and the Ottoman. He has a hand on the Ottoman's shoulder and seems to hide behind him. The Hungarian looks very similar to certain contemporary Dutch engravings of Prince Gábor Bethlen, except that the Hungarian figure lacks a beard, which was a conspicuous feature of the Transylvanian prince.

The Dutch allegorical composition thus expresses the idea that the "living saint" Prince Maurice protects the Calvinist religion of the Hungarians in Transylvania through the relationships of the Dutch with the Ottomans. This notion reflects Dutch diplomatic policy towards the Ottomans, as can be read in the diplomatic

¹⁴⁰ Liberum Belgium, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-76.980.

¹⁴¹ *Ilja H. Veldman*: Chrispijn de Passe and his Progeny (1564-1670). A Century of Print Production. Translated from the Dutch by Michael Hoyle. (Studies in Prints and Printmaking, volume 3.) Rotterdam 2001. 250-254.

¹⁴² *Schmidt, B.*: Innocence Abroad op. cit. 74.

letters of Cornelis Haga, the Dutch envoy in Constantinople. This image of the Hungarians was propagated for at least the next fifty years, as this popular print of van de Passe's was re-used at least twice. The publisher Cornelis Danckerts re-issued it once to portray Stadhouder Frederick Henry in 1628¹⁴³ and again to celebrate King William III of Orange in 1672.¹⁴⁴ The background remained the same in both prints, only the face of the ruler was adapted.

The allegory of the Kingdom of Hungary (1665)

A rich allegory with a similar composition as the Dutch, but with a quite different meaning, was used as a title page of a book on the history of Hungary in 1665.¹⁴⁵ (See image 13.) The work contains a continuation of the historical work of Hieronymus Ortelius, written by historiographer Martin Meyer (ca. 1630 - ca. 1670). Unfortunately, we do not know the name of the inventor, or the engraver of this work, although we can assume it must have been a German artist. We can state that it must have been influenced by the engraving of the holy crown in the second edition of the work of Révay on the holy crown of Hungary in 1652 and/or the posthumous publication of a work of the same author on the Hungarian monarchy and the holy crown in 1659.¹⁴⁶ These prints were issued in Vienna and Frankfurt and both well known into Europe. In both works reappear the image of the crown. Although it was made 40 years later than the Dutch allegory, it is still useful to describe it here, as it can be considered as a Habsburg (Hungarian) Catholic mirror of the Dutch Calvinist allegorical composition.

The centre of the allegory is formed by the holy crown of Hungary, which is held aloft by a personification of Religion on the left and of Concord on the right. Under the crown, two groups of people are seen. One consists of members of heathen nations,

¹⁴³ Liberum Belgium, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-81.349.

¹⁴⁴ Wilhem Hendrick D.G. Prins van Oranje, Grave van Nassau ... Cap. en Admirael Generael vande Vereenigde Nederlanden. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-77.034.

¹⁴⁵ *Hieronymus Oertel [Ortelius]: Ortelius Redivivus et Continuatus oder Ungarische und Siebenbürgische Kriegs-Händel, so vom Jahr 1395. biß auf 1665. mit dem Türcken vorgelauffe.* Nürnberg 1665. (title page) RMK III. 7685.

¹⁴⁶ *Péter Révay: De Monarchia et Sacra Corona Regni Hvgariae Centuria Septem.* Francofurti 1659. RMK III. 2058.

the other of Christians. At the front of the Christian group a Hungarian, sword in his hand, defends Christianity (represented by Austrians, French and others) against the heathens. An Ottoman figure stands in front of the Hungarian leading a group of heathen and tries to lure the Hungarian to the other side. He raises his finger, as if he setting out an argument to persuade him. An Austrian figure defends the symbolic Hungarian with a shield, which he holds above him. Behind the Ottoman other people from various cultures are visible, such as a Tartar with drawn sword, and a native American. Beneath this scene a Hungarian battlefield is visible, flanked by Father Time and a personification of Glory. This allegory therefore depicts the influence of Providence on the outcome of the war against the Turks in Europe. If Hungary stays at the Catholic front and remains true to its crown and the ideas it represents, it will be liberated from the Ottomans with help of Austria.

Religion for the Christian Samaritans

The figure of Religion was once more portrayed in a similar fashion to Szenci Molnár's in a Hungarian translation of a poem with the title *Religion for the Christian Samaritans*.¹⁴⁷ It was a part of a manuscript collection of poems and engravings about the main actors of the Thirty Years War. This text was a translation of the work of the German humanist Johann Joachim Rusdorf (1589-1640), who was a diplomat of the Elector Palatine Frederick V, and who died in exile in The Hague.¹⁴⁸ The Latin text was printed several times to support Rusdorf's diplomatic efforts in the Calvinist circles of Europe. It is not sure who was responsible for this translation, but it must have been made in the court circle that surrounded Prince György Rákóczi I of Transylvania (1593-1648) between 1629 and 1638.

The original goal of the Latin editions of Rusdorf's work was to win the hearts and minds of the Protestant politicians of Europe to unite against the Catholic Habsburgs for the common cause

¹⁴⁷ *Religio Ad Samaritanos Christiános*. OSZK Oct. Hung. 69. Published in: A harmincéves háború op. cit. 56-158.

¹⁴⁸ *Johann Russdorf: Elegidia et poematia epidictica unâ Cum ad vivum expressis Personarum iconibus*. Uppsalaiae 1631. See: A harmincéves háború op. cit. 184-185.

during the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). The Hungarian translation was made in the circles of students and scholars who had studied abroad, in order to regain support for the Prince of Transylvania. The image of Religion again changes its appearance in this verse. The figure of *Religio* complains about the inconstancy of the Christians and compares it with the colours of a chameleon. According to Sándor Fazekas and Levente Juhász, the political message of the verse is directed against the Lutherans of Europe, who deserted the Calvinists in their fight against the Catholics.¹⁴⁹

If, however, we compare this verse to the other poems at the back of this work, it also seems that the author wanted to strengthen the bond between the Dutch and Hungarian Calvinists. The collection also contains a poem about Stadhouder Frederic Henry of Orange. In a poem verse which precedes the poem about Religion, the Dutch are presented as the protectors of Calvinist Europe, the only people in Europe who stand up against the Catholic danger. We can thus consider this work to be similar to the allegory of the aforementioned engraving by Simon van de Passe (1624), but this time in written form and translated into Hungarian.

The famous Dutch politician, diplomat, spy and very cynical historian Lieuwe Aitzema (1600-1669) wrote the following lines about the propaganda war in Europe between the Catholics and Protestants during the Thirty Years' War: "Men bevocht den Vijande niet alleen met Schepen te Water / maer ook met allerhande Poesijen, ghedichten / figuyren / en Ambachten te Lande".¹⁵⁰ (The enemy was fought not only with ships at sea, but also with all kind of verses, poems, allegories and other works of art on land.) The image of True Religion and its text served well as a powerful weapon against the Catholic enemy in the hands of Szenci Molnár. As Mihály Imre has stated, Szenci Molnár knew the possibilities of images and of communication through iconographic language and made the greatest use of these.¹⁵¹ The image of True Religion served well as the powerful bond between the Calvinists in the Dutch Republic and Germany, and those in Hungary and Transylvania.

¹⁴⁹ Fazekas, S. - Juhász, L.: Ezerszínű kaméleon. op. cit. 280-282; Fazekas, S.: „A soknyelvű tolmács” op. cit.; A harmincéves háború op. cit. 184-185.

¹⁵⁰ Lieuwe van Aitzema: *Saken van Staet en Oorlogh*. Vol. III. Den Haag, 1669. 781.

¹⁵¹ Bitskey, I.: Hitviták op. cit. 217-225. Imre, M.: „Úton járásnak megírása” op. cit. 36.

3. Early modern cultural diplomacy between the Dutch and Hungarians in terms of True Religion

Pieter Cornelisz. Brederode as the agent of the Dutch

Szenci Molnár tried to spread a positive image of Hungary, the Hungarians and their culture in Calvinist Europe through his works, deeds and contacts.¹⁵² He also wanted to show that the Hungarian Calvinist Church was a part of European Calvinist culture. The publication of the image of True Religion was an important way to fulfil these goals. Another way to support the Calvinist cause in Hungary and Transylvania was his effort to play an important key role in the early-modern Protestant information networks or the *respublica litteraria* in Europe. To understand the background of the image of True religion and how it was used to promote the Calvinist cause of Hungary in Europe, we must focus on the close relation between Szenci Molnár and the envoy of the Dutch Staten-Generaal in the German countries, Pieter Cornelisz. Brederode. (See image 14.)

Brederode was born in The Hague in 1558 or 1559 as the son of the wealthy tinsmith Cornelis Sybrantszoon van Brederode.¹⁵³ The members of this family proudly bore the well-known aristocratic name 'Brederode', and used the armorial bearings of this family, alluding to their (disputed) descent from a bastard. Pieter's father was a member of the party of the 'Geuzen' (Beggars), a nickname for the group of Dutch who revolted against the Spanish rule in the Netherlands. Because of his successful political activities during the Dutch Revolt, Cornelis acquired friends in high circles and even became major of The Hague, the centre of Dutch politics. Brederode was enrolled on 9 May 1578 at the recently foun-

¹⁵² Ibidem, 203.

¹⁵³ R. Feenstra: Pieter Cornelisz. van Brederode (1558 [?] – 1637) als rechtsgelerd schrijver. Een bio-bibliografische bijdrage. Tijdschrift voor rechtsgeschiedenis 27.(1959) 413–468; Uwe Sibeth: Gesandter einer aufständischen Macht. Die ersten Jahre der Mission von Dr. Pieter Cornelisz. Brederode im Reich (1602–09). Zeitschrift für historische Forschung 30. (2003) 19–52; Uwe Sibeth: Der „Friede“ als Fortsetzung des Krieges mit anderen Mitteln. Zur Repraesentatio pacis generalis (1607) des Pieter Cornelisz. Brederode. Wege der Neuzeit. Festschrift für Heinz Schilling zum 65. Geburtstag. Stefan Ehrenpreis - Ute Lotz-Heumann - Olaf Mörke - Luise Schorn-Schütte hrsg. Berlin 2007. 479–502.

ded University of Leiden. Two years later he left for Switzerland, where he studied in Geneva from 1580 to 1586 as a student of the famous jurist Dionysius Gothofredus (1549-1622). Brederode himself taught at the University of Basel from 1591 to 1593. His successful career as a writer of law books began during his study years in Geneva.¹⁵⁴

Brederode's academic career came to an end in 1595, when he entered politics and became a diplomat by profession. In that year, he moved to Paris and married Marie Guerreau, the daughter of a sister of the said Gothofredus.¹⁵⁵ He also entered the service of Cathérine de Bourbon, the Protestant sister of the king of France, as her counsellor. In that same year, he offered his services to the States of Holland, who accepted his offer. His first task he received from Prince Maurice, who asked him to arrange certain matters in the principality of Orange. Brederode performed this task to the complete satisfaction of the prince. After that he entered the service of the States General on 17 October 1602 as diplomatic agent in the German countries in the city of Heidelberg and carried out this mission for more than thirty years, until his death in 1637. At first, from 1604, he lived in Neu-Hanau, a city where many Dutch refugees took exile. After 1610 he bought a house in Heidelberg, where Szenci Molnár lived from 1619.

As agent of the Dutch in Germany, Brederode became a crucial figure for the Dutch Republic in the early-modern distribution system of information, power, services and products in the Protestant diplomatic network in Central Europe. His task was to justify to the Protestant Electors and Princes, counts, lords and imperial cities the Dutch revolt against Spain: this was written in his instructions.¹⁵⁶ The main goal of this propaganda was to obtain financial support for the war from the Protestant German aristocrats and Estates. Brederode was quite successful in this, and received 229,000 guilders from the princes in 1605 alone. For the sake of comparison, in the second half of the 16th century the entire assembly of the Holy Roman Empire paid around half a million Rhenish flor-

¹⁵⁴ For an overview of the various works and prints: *Feenstra, R.*: Pieter Cornelisz. op. cit. 449-458.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, 437-440.

¹⁵⁶ *Resolutionen der Generalstaaten 1576–1625. Resolutionen der Generalstaaten 1576 - 1625: niederländische Regesten zur späten Hansegeschichte.* Karl-Klaus Weber hrsg. Norderstedt 2004. 57–58

ins annually for the defence of the eastern border of the Habsburg Monarchy, which stretched from the today border of Slovakia and Ukraine to the Adriatic Coast, against the Ottomans in Hungary and Croatia.¹⁵⁷ This sum shows us not only the importance that the princes attached to the outcome of the war in the Netherlands, but perhaps also serves as proof of Brederode's skills as a fundraiser and as propagandist of the Dutch Revolt.

Brederode's outlook, which legitimated his diplomatic activities, was very much akin to that of Szenci Molnár. Behind the political crises and military conflicts in the Netherlands and the rest of Europe lay nothing less than the eschatological struggle between Christ and Antichrist, between the forces of good and evil, the children of light and darkness, as prophesied in the Book of Revelation of the New Testament.¹⁵⁸ In combination with political activism, typical of many Protestant rulers and their counsellors in the time of Brederode and Szenci Molnár, this eschatological interpretation resulted in a widespread attitude that Heinz Schilling termed "confessional fundamentalism".¹⁵⁹ This perspective was characterised by two main features: its unshakable self-assurance that it was definitely on the right or true side; its activism, stemming from the conviction that salvation was at stake and that consequently in this last battle the children of God had to fight Antichrist by all means, whatever the secular costs. Brederode's writings, just like those of the above-mentioned Van Meteren, were shaped by a decidedly confessionalist perception of power relations and lines in Europe.¹⁶⁰ He constantly pushed the theme of confession to the very heart of his negotiations and writings. His aim was to confront international

¹⁵⁷ *Géza Pálffy*: A törökellenes határvédelmi rendszer fenntartásának költségei a 16. századi második felében. Végvár és ellátás. Tivadar Petercsak – Mátyás Berecz eds. (Studia Agriensia 21.) Eger 2001. 183-219; *Géza Pálffy*: Der Preis für die Verteidigung der Habsburgermonarchie. Die Kosten der Türkenabwehr in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. In: Finanzen und Herrschaft. Materielle Grundlagen fürstlicher Politik in den habsburgischen Ländern und im Heiligen Römischen Reich im 16. Jahrhundert. Hrsg. Friedrich Edelmayer–Maximilian Lanzinner–Peter Rauscher. München–Wien 2003. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 38.) 20–44.

¹⁵⁸ *Heinz Schilling*: Early Modern European Civilization and Its Political and Cultural Dynamism. Lebanon 2008. 77. See also: *Gábor Kármán*: A konfesszionalizáció hasznáról és káráról: Egy paradigma margójára. In: Felekezeti társadalom - felekezeti műveltség: A Hajnal István Kör 2011. évi győri konferenciájának kötete. Anikó Lukács ed. (Rendi társadalom - polgári társadalom, 25.) Budapest 2013. 27-40.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, 77-78

¹⁶⁰ *Sibeth, U.*: Gesandter op. cit. 19-52.

Catholicism, which the Protestant princes and states were increasingly finding a threat to their existence. To cope with this danger, he emphatically called for a Protestant counter-alliance, one that would include all Protestant countries from all corners of Europe and to which the pope and Spain would be the Antichrist and a common enemy.

Brederode and the Bocskai Revolt (1604-1606)

From this confessional point of view it is not surprising that Brederode became interested in the revolt against the Habsburg king in Hungary and Transylvania after 1604. As early as that year he sent a missive to the Staten-Generaal in The Hague with information received from Prague about the revolt in Hungary and Transylvania.¹⁶¹ On 9 April 1605 he wrote from Frankfurt that he had received some very important documents on the Hungarian revolt, although these have not been preserved in the Dutch State Archive.¹⁶² Because of the amount of information about Hungary and Transylvania which Brederode sent to the Hague it is very likely that he was already in contact with Hungarians from Heidelberg or Hanau at that time, perhaps even with Szenci Molnár.

Brederode became directly involved with Bocskai's diplomatic efforts at the beginning of 1606, shortly before the broadsheet on True Religion was published.¹⁶³ János Bocatius, Bocskai's envoy, had a meeting (with Brederode's help) with the Friedrich IV Elec-

¹⁶¹ Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Staten-Generaal [Hereafter: NL-HaNA-NL-HaNA], nummer toegang 1.01.02, inventarisnummer 6016 Lias Duitsland 6016. (1602-1613) (Prague, 20 November 1604)

¹⁶² Pieter Brederode to the Staten Generaal, Frankfurt, 9 April 1605, NL-HaNA, 1.01.02, inv. 6016. Lias Duitsland 6016. (1602-1613).

¹⁶³ *Kees Teszelszky*: Some international aspects of the Bocskai-insurrection: the Dutch-Hungarian connection. In: Redite ad cor: tanulmányok Sahin-Tóth Péter emlékére. Tézér Oborni - Lila Krász szerk. Budapest 2008. 273-280, *Kees Teszelszky*: Üzenet az utazótáskából. Kora újkori diplomáciai kapcsolatok Németalföld és Magyarország között a Bocskai-felkelés alatt. In: Portré és imázs. Politikai propaganda és reprezentáció a kora újkorban. Ildikó Horn - Nóra G. Etényi szerk. Budapest 2008. 127-147; *Kees Teszelszky*: Diplomáciai iratok Németalföld és Magyarország között a Bocskai-felkelés alatt (1604-1606). In: Debrecenről Amszterdamiig. Magyarország és Németalföld kapcsolata. Réka Bozzay szerk. Debrecen 2010. 59-89; *Kees Teszelszky*: Bocskai István követének iratai az európai politika tükrében. In: Színlelés és rejtőzködés. A kora újkori magyar politika szerepjátékai. Ildikó Horn - Nóra G. Etényi szerk. Budapest 2010. 125-145.

tor Palatine in Heidelberg in the February of that year.¹⁶⁴ Bocatius (Johann Bock, 1569-1621), born in Vetschau in Lower Lusatia of a Sorbian mother and a German father, was the most prominent humanist writer and poet of the part of Hungary under Habsburg rule.¹⁶⁵ He was a good friend of Szenci Molnár, as we know from Molnár's diary, his correspondence and other sources.¹⁶⁶ Bocatius studied in Dresden and Wittenberg and was one of the best students of his year. In 1596 he was made *poeta laureatus caesareus* (imperial poet laureate) by Rudolf II and was ennobled by him in 1598 at the request of Archduke Maximilian of Austria and some Hungarian aristocrats. He went to Hungary for the first time only in 1590 and settled permanently in the city of Eperjes in 1593. As a famous teacher of rhetoric at the town school in Eperjes and later Kassa (Košice, now in Slovakia). He joined the Bocskai Revolt in his official capacity as mayor of Kassa. He played an important role as court historian and propagandist of the Hungarian Prince in Europe. In this sense, he had a similar function to Brederode's, only for a certain mission in a short period.

The first diplomatic effort of the Netherlands in favour of the Protestant Hungarians has remained unknown to this day, as Brederode seems not to have reported it to the Staten-Generaal in the Netherlands. (We have to note here that there is little material on Brederode left in the Dutch National Archives from the period 1606–1612.) His only reference to this meeting comes in a letter to a German secretary of the Count of Nassau, in which he wrote that he was involved with the affairs of Hungary which were “quite important for the conservation of the Church of God.”¹⁶⁷ We have,

¹⁶⁴ Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges in den Zeiten des vorwaltenden Einfluss der Wittelsbacher. I. Die Gründung der Union, 1598-1608. Beab. von Moriz Ritter. München 1870 471-475; Vom Reichstag 1608 bis zur Gründung der Liga. Beab. von Felix Stieve. (Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des Dreißigjährigen Krieges, 6.) München 1895. 46-63.

¹⁶⁵ Doris Teichmann: Johannes Bock-Bocatius (1569–1621) – Sorabus Lusatus. Lëtöpis 52. (2005) 48-72; Doris Teichmann: Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur der Niederlausitz im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. (Quellengeschichtliche Untersuchungen; Schriften des Sorbischen Instituts 16.) Bautzen 1998. 171-295.

¹⁶⁶ Dézsi, L.: Szenczi Molnár op. cit. 55, 61, 77, 374-376; Ioannes Bocatius: Hexasticha votiva vel Strena Poëtica, omnis boni gratia Anno Deo VoLente rIt MeLIVs, distributa ac principaliter consecrata D. D. Regni Hungariae Palatino Ill[ustrissimo] Comiti ac D[omino] Georgio Thurzo de Bethlemfalva etc. Barthphae 1612. 108. RMK II. 345a.

¹⁶⁷ (...) J'avoyz aussi touché quelque chose des affaires de Hongarie, qui ne sont pas de légere importance; et seroit a soushaitter que tous ceux qui ont désir de conserver

however, a detailed account of Bocatius's meeting with the Dutch envoy, preserved in his memoirs and other documents related to him.¹⁶⁸ Later he stayed in Brederode's house in Hanau for three days in February 1606, as he wrote in his memoirs.¹⁶⁹ Meanwhile he also discussed with his host the political situation in Hungary and the political documents which he carried with him.¹⁷⁰

Unfortunately, this first Hungarian-Dutch cooperation did not have a happy ending. Bocatius was captured by Habsburg spies when returning home to Hungary. The agent of the Hungarians was interrogated by the emperors' men, all his possessions were confiscated and he was thrown into prison in Prague castle for many years. During the interrogation on 3 February 1606, a student travelling with Bocatius was asked what the envoy had discussed with Brederode, but unfortunately for later historians did not reveal this information.¹⁷¹ When he was free again Bocatius published a collection of short panegyrics in Latin, in which he thanked all the people who helped him in the last years to be released from prison.¹⁷² One of these he devoted to Brederode.¹⁷³

Bocatius received from Brederode not only a safe place to rest, but also some gifts. When he was caught by the emperor's men, the secretary Philippus Rust made a detailed inventory of Bocati-

l'eglise de Dieu, devroyent penser sérieusement aussi bien à cest affaire qu'à celluy de Messeigneurs les Estats, car il est certain que l'Espagnol amasse des gens de tous païs. (...)” Petrus Brederode to E. Stöver, Hanau 16 March 1606. In: Archives ou correspondance inédite de la maison D'Orange-Nassau: (1600-1625). Vol. 2. Recueil publié par G. Groen van Prinsterer. Den Haag 1858. 367.

¹⁶⁸ (...) Qui me Haidelbergae, post Hannoviae hospes habebas (...). *Bocatius, I: Hexasticha Votiva* op. cit.

¹⁶⁹ *Ioannes Bocatius: Olympias carceraria*. In: *Ioannes Bocatius: Opera Omnia. Prosaica*. Edidit Franciscus Csonka. Budapest 1990. 120, 130.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, 120.

¹⁷¹ 'Wohin der Bucati[us] von Haidelberg vorreisdet undt was ehr zue Hanau midt dem Brederovio geredet?', in: '[Interrogatio Nicolai Schlüßler]' *Bocatius, I: Opera Omnia* op. cit. 464. The student Nicolas Schlüßler answered: 'Gen Hanau und wis niht, was er mit dem Brederodio, der stadischen Abgesandten daselbst gehandelt', in: '[Responsiones Nicolai Schlüßler] 3. Feb[ruarii] a[nn]o 1606. 1607]', in: *Ibidem*, 465.

¹⁷² *Bocatius, I: Hexasticha votiva* op. cit.

¹⁷³ '[Petro Brederodo] Petre, per imperium, Brederodi, muneri agenti / Principe pro Belga cui sua Mauricio, / Qui me Haidelbergae, post Hannoviae hospes habebad, / Magne vir, ut verus tu mihi Phoebus eras. / Quid tum? magna decet patriae servire volentes, / In morem Attili, ferre patique viros', in: *Bocatius, I: Hexasticha votiva*. In: *Ioannes Bocatius: Opera Omnia. Poetica*. Vol. II. Franciscus Csonka edidit. Budapest 1990. 693.

us' possessions on 26 February 1606.¹⁷⁴ It is remarkable how many books, letters and other papers this Hungarian diplomatic agent had in his carriage on the way home. Glancing at the list of hundreds of items, we see that most space is taken up by texts and images on a confessional theme. It is also noteworthy that many of the items on the list, such as books, maps and prints, originated in the Netherlands or had a Dutch theme.

The Dutch propaganda material from Bocatius's luggage was similar in outlook and ideological content to what Szenci Molnár tried to spread in the German lands about the Bocskai revolt. Bocatius brought home Dutch political apologia, allegorical images of the Dutch Stadhouder in combination with texts, and other items consisting of images and texts in which political messages were communicated.

We shall now look at the items more closely. The first item in Bocatius's *runden Wadtsack* which strikes our attention is an anonymous handwritten pamphlet with a strong confessional theme.¹⁷⁵ This text, written by Brederode, is about the need to continue the war against Spain instead of making peace, as it is a holy war against the Catholics for the sake of the true Protestant religion.¹⁷⁶ It is noteworthy that at the very time that this text was written, or perhaps had already been distributed in manuscript form, the Spanish ambassador complained to the French king 'that the Dutch justify their revolt as a defence of religion, although it is nothing but a war of the state disguised as a religious war for the sake of those engaged in it.'¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Ungarische Akten. Miscellaneae Fasc. 433. Akten, betreff. den Stadtrichter von Kaschau, Johann Bocatius 1606. fol. 36-37. Published as: II/B Inventaria 2-6. in: *Bocatius, I.: Opera quae exstant omnia. Poetica.* op. cit. 469-474.

¹⁷⁵ 'Memoriall des jenigen so der Herr General Stadtten der vereinigten Niederlendischen Provinzien, uf die praetendirte Spanische Monarchi in achtzunemen undt wol zu consideriren erachten, damit thun undt sunsten undt andern Stenden des Reichs ihnen zu einer Assistenz zu bewegen.' II/B Inventaria 2-6 op. cit. 471; *Sibeth, U.: „Der „Friede“* op. cit. 479-502.

¹⁷⁶ Printed edition: [*Pieter Cornelisz. Brederode*]: *Repraesentatio Pacis Generalis, inter Orbis Christiani Reges, Principes Et Status: Pontificum & Sedis Romanae sollicitudine procurata.* S.l. 1608.

¹⁷⁷ "(...) que la guerre des Pais-Bas ne se faisoit pour la religion, que c'estoit une pure guerre d'estat, converte du masque de la religion, pour favoriser les parties qui la faisoit (...)." Entrevue du Roi de France avec l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, September 1605. in: *Archives ou correspondance* op. cit. 362.

Brederode seeks the continued support of the German Estates and princes for the Dutch struggle against the Catholic Habsburg dynasty. According to him, the Catholics are the main threat to the Protestant *Respublica Christiana* and the true Protestant religion itself, and must not be appeased either in the Netherlands or elsewhere. He sees the Protestant kings and princes as defenders of True Religion against the attacks of the pope and the Catholic powers. It is striking that this pamphlet, which circulated widely both in manuscript form and in print, was written not only for the German Protestants, but was also directed to an audience in Brederode's homeland. Just like Szenci Molnár, he tried to convince his fellow countrymen and the rest of the Protestant world at the same time.

The other items underlined and elaborated the political message of the pamphlet. Some items served to promote the image of Prince Maurice of Orange in his role as the ideal protestant ruler and the defender of the True Religion in the Netherlands. Three copies of a printed song in German about Prince Maurice were found in Bocatius's bag.¹⁷⁸ These propaganda songs were published in Heidelberg around 1606, probably by order of Brederode, and showed an image of Prince Maurice in armour.¹⁷⁹ As there were at least two variants of this print, there could have been three identical versions or two or three different ones on Bocatius's inventory. The words of these songs were re-workings of the popular late sixteenth-century song about William of Orange titled *Wilhelmus*, which even became the Dutch national anthem in the twentieth century. This combination of an image and a text which could even be sung aloud was an excellent way of spreading the ideological message of the Dutch abroad. The text could have been sung at markets or on squares by news-readers or at home with friends and family. The Hungarians followed a similar propaganda strategy at home: a song about Prince Bocskai was printed in Hungary in 1605.¹⁸⁰

Other items which can be related to the confessional message about the Dutch Stadhouder and the religious war in the Nether-

¹⁷⁸ 'Drei gedruckte Exemplaria jedes uf eines halben Bogen eine Seiten, deßen intitulation. Ein new undt Christlich Liedt Mauritio Graven von Naßaw.' II/B Inventaria 2-6 op. cit. 474.

¹⁷⁹ Ein new undt Christlich Liedt Mauritio Graven von Naßaw. S.n., [1608].

¹⁸⁰ *Joannes S. Debrecenis: Militaris congratulatio Comitatus Bihariensis: Ad Illustrissimum Principem et Dominum, Dn. Stephanum Botskai de Kis Maria... Debrecen, 1605*

lands were found in a large black chest in Bocatius' carriage.¹⁸¹ Bocatius was carrying several maps of Dutch towns and areas with him. These can be identified as propaganda prints ('historieprenten') of famous Dutch victories by Prince Maurice, won between 1599 and 1604. A map of Grave, a tiny fortified town in the east of the Netherlands, refers to a battle which was won by Maurice on 2 September 1602.¹⁸² Another one is a huge broadsheet on the siege of the river island Bommel in 1599 with an engraving showing an aerial views of Bommel and various troop formations and fortifications.¹⁸³ It was issued in 1600 in Amsterdam. The last one is an allegorical image of the successful siege of Sluys, a port in Flanders, in 1604.¹⁸⁴ This was Maurice's last military victory and the acme of his military career. The goal of the campaign waged by Maurice and the Staten-Generaal against the Spanish king was to protect "True Religion", as was stated in the explanation to the reader on the map.¹⁸⁵ Other similar items consisted of Latin poetry by Hugo de Groot (Grotius) on confessional themes. Grotius had already sent similar material to the famous French historian Jacques Auguste de Thou (Thuanus, 1553-

¹⁸¹ 'Dicta Deo Vindici Mauritio principi assertori, ordinib[us] foederat. Anno 1604 Arnehmi Geldriae excus[a].' II/B Inventaria 5' II/B Inventaria 2-6 op. cit. 478; 'Item, Relation oder eigentliche Erzählung von dem hehrlichenn und wollgeordnetenn Feldtzuge etc. Herrn Mauritii Prince vom Orangien etc. neben einem darann gefasseten langen Kupfferstuck, gedruckt zum Amsterdam durch Cornelium Nicolaum anno 1603; Ibidem, 479; 'Effigies Mauritii D[ei] G[ratia] nati Auran[iae] Principis, Comitis Nassau anno 1599. abgedrucktt', ibidem; 'Effigies D[omini] Mauritii principis Auran[iae] noch eins, anno [15]98. abgedrucktt', ibidem; 'Item in patenti forma Curia Hollandiae, abgedrucktt im Kupffer Stuck', ibidem.

¹⁸² 'Abunterfeitunge der Starcken Stadt Grave.' ibidem, 478.

¹⁸³ 'Ein grosse Mappa, quae inscribitur: Tabula Topographica, in qua pars magna insulae Bommeliae etc; ibidem. = Tabula Topographica in qua, pars magna insulae Bommeliae, una cum circumiacentibus Brabantiae; et Bataviae pagis; nee non insula Vorenia accurate describuntur In qua Videre est; etc. [1599]

¹⁸⁴ 'Item noch eine Mappa, inscribitur: Typus insignis Illustriss[imorum] D[ominorum] ord[inum] Foederatorum Provinciae Classis, qua Flandriam petierunt et Casandam appulerunt, anno 1604. April[is] 25, II/B Inventaria 2-6 op. cit. 478 = Typus insignis Illustriss[imorum] D[ominorum] ord[inum] Foederatorum Provinciae Classis, qua Flandriam petierunt et Casandam appulerunt, anno 1604. April[is] 25. / FLORIS BALTASAR (...) (second edition). University Library, Leiden (UBL), COLBN Port 37 N 50.

¹⁸⁵ Warachtige afbeelding van de beleghering van de wiit vermaerde stercke stadt van Sluys. (1604) Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-80.656.

1617) so he could use it to write his historical work.¹⁸⁶ This confessional history book was also in Bocatius's possession.¹⁸⁷

Bocatius stayed only three days with Brederode, according to his account. This does not seem much time to collect this huge amount of books, pamphlets, documents and engravings, of some of which Bocatius even had more than fifteen identical copies. It is very likely that this large amount of material with a confessional theme had been prepared beforehand by Brederode with help of a Hungarian acquaintance or a Hungarian student. It must have been selected with the ideological needs of the Hungarians and Brederode's propagandic goals in mind. Besides this, some items represent Bocatius's personal interests as a humanist writer in Latin: there were also works of famous Dutch poets, such as the political poetry of Hugo de Groot (Grotius, 1583-1645) and the love poetry of Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655).¹⁸⁸

Albert Szenci Molnár and Brederode

Brederode continued to support the Protestants in Hungary and Transylvania after 1606, but his attention now shifted to the interests of the Calvinists in these territories. From now on he openly supported the Hungarian Calvinists and reported the results of this support at home. This may be explained by the change of his role after the start of the Twelve Years' Truce between Spain and the Netherlands and the recognition of the Dutch Republic as an

¹⁸⁶ *Arthur Eijffinger*: Prent en punt dicht (Grotius' Maurits-Epigrammen). Oud Holland 92. (1978) 164-166; *Irene Schrier*: Boeckvercooper ende Constdrucker' De Delftse boek- en prentuitgever Nicolaes de Clerck (1599-1623) als pleidooi voor de toenadering van Boekhistorie en Kunsthistorie. Masterscriptie Universiteit van Amsterdam. Amsterdam 2010. 161.

¹⁸⁷ 'Jac. Aug. Thuani Historiarum Sui Temp, pars I. Parisi anno 1604 excus[a], in groß 8. Pars altera Thuani etc. Ist sonderlich gedruckt.' II/B Inventaria 2-6 op. cit. 478 = *Jacques Auguste de Thou*: Jac. Aug. Thuani Historiarum Sui Temporis. Parisi 1604 [1603].

¹⁸⁸ 'Zwey exemplaria in 4-to gedruckt und ungebunden undt hatt jedes 2 Pogenn intitultet Hügeiani Grotii Batavi, Pontifex Romanus; Rex Galliarum; Rex Hispaniarum; Albertus Cardinalis; Regina Angliae; Ordines Foederati. Ex Officina Plantiniana anno 1599.' II/B Inventaria 2-6 op. cit. 473. = Hügeiani Grotii Batavi [Hugo Grotius]: Pontifex Romanus, Rex Galliarum, Rex Hispaniarum, Albertus cardinalis, Regina Angliae, Ordines Federati. Ex Officina Plantiniana, Apud Christophorum Raphelengium, Academiae Lugduno-Batavae Typographum. Lugdunum Batavorum [Leiden] 1598.

independent state in 1609.¹⁸⁹ Brederode was no longer an envoy of the Dutch rebels any more, but from now he could present himself as the agent of the Republic.

Brederode became one of the main supporters of Szenci Molnár's intellectual activities towards the spread of Calvinism in Hungary and Transylvania, subsidising several of his important publications. The first was a Hungarian translation of a Calvinist Bible, of which 1,500 copies were printed in 1608 with the financial support of Prince Maurice of Hesse and Brederode himself.¹⁹⁰ This was the second translation to appear and spread widely – the Károlyi Bible had appeared in 1590, the Heltai Bible (1561) was not spread widely – and became one of the principle instruments of the spread of the Calvinist faith in Transylvania and Hungary. It was soon followed by a second, revised, edition in 1612.¹⁹¹ Szenci Molnár's most controversial work, which Brederode also supported, was the already mentioned Appendix to *Jubileus esztendei prédikáció* (A Sermon for Jubilee Year), published in 1618. The political message of this work was quite similar to the previously mentioned pamphlet which Brederode himself had published anonymously in 1608 and which Bocatius had tried to bring home. The last work supported by Brederode was a trilingual lexicon (Latin, Greek and Hungarian), which was published in Heidelberg in 1621.¹⁹²

Brederode's efforts were mirrored by the growing Dutch interest in the fate of the Calvinists in the east. In the wake of the Thirty Years' War the Dutch paid greater polemical attention to Hungary and Transylvania, which now appeared to be the central battlefield where the outcome of the conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Europe would be decided. An important milestone in confessional thinking on Hungary and Transylvania was the translation into Dutch of Hieronymus Ortelius' History

¹⁸⁹ *Sibeth, U.*: Gesandter op. cit. 22-23.

¹⁹⁰ Letter of Hermann Wolf to Szenci Molnár, 22 May 1608. *Dézi, L.*: Szenczi Molnár op. cit. 263.

¹⁹¹ *Imre Peres*: Szenci Molnár és a vizsolyi Biblia első revíziója. In: *Eruditio – Educatio* 1. (2006) 14-21; *Imre Peres*: Szenci Molnár Albert exegetikai munkássága. In: *Eruditio – Educatio* 2. (2006) 57-63.

¹⁹² *Albert Szenci Molnár*: Lexicon Latino–Graeco–Ungaricum... Heidelberg 1621. RMK I. 513.

of Hungary (1619).¹⁹³ The Dutch translator and Calvinist preacher Petrus Neander stated in the foreword that God's plan for the Dutch people could be understood by studying the recent history of Hungary.¹⁹⁴ He described his book also as a mirror of princes for the Stadhouder Maurice of Orange. The Dutch prince must follow the example of the Transylvanian princes Bocskai and Bethlen, who defended the religion and freedom of their people against the papist devil. The Hungarian princes were thus presented as ideal Calvinist rulers and defenders of True Religion.

Szenci Molnár served as an important information broker in Germany about current political events in Hungary and Transylvania.¹⁹⁵ He provided news and information to the key figures of the Protestant *Respublica litteraria*, such as the Dutch agent Brederode, the French agent Jacques Bongars, Georg Michael Lingelsheim (Counsellor to the Elector Palatine in Heidelberg) and later Ludwig Camerarius (chancellor of the Czech king in The Hague) and others. This information was distributed by them through their own channels to every corner of the Protestant world. Molnár received this information about Hungary from members of his own network of informants, such as Bocatius, and from the visiting Calvinist students who travelled to Germany and the Netherlands.¹⁹⁶ He also served as an informant for Hungarians living in Hungary and Transylvania: it is perhaps also thanks to him that so many Hungarian students went to the Netherlands to study.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ *Hieronymus Ortelius*: De chronycke. van Hungariē ofte. Warachtige beschryvinghe van alle de vreeslicke oorlogen ende Veltslagen tusschen de Turckē ende christen princen. Amsterdam 1619.

¹⁹⁴ Ibidem, fol. ij.

¹⁹⁵ About early modern information brokers, see: Your Humble Servant: Agents in Early Modern Europe. Marika Keblusek - H. Cools – Badeloch Noldus eds. Hilversum 2006; Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture. Mediation, Transmission, Traffic, 1550–1700. Brinda Charry - Gitanjali Shahani eds. Farnham – Burlington 2009. 95–129; Double Agents. Cultural and political brokerage in Early Modern Europe. Marika Keblusek - Badeloch Noldus eds. Leiden – Boston 2011.

¹⁹⁶ *Vásárhelyi, J.*: Eszmei áramlatok op. cit. 24.

¹⁹⁷ *Sándor Csipkay*: Magyar-holland irodalmi kapcsolatok kezdetei (Laskai János). Budapest 1935. 8; See also: *Willem Frijhoff*: Gelovig of geletterd? Nederlands-Hongaarse betrekkingen in de Republiek der Letteren van de 16^e tot de 19^e eeuw. In: János Apáczai Csere 1625–1659. Bundel inleidingen bij de onthulling van een plaqueette op woensdag 17 oktober 2001 ter herinnering aan de promotie van János Apáczai Csere aan de universiteit van Harderwijk, 350 jaar geleden. Harderwijk 2001. 3–12

We can see how information went through these channels by observing the transmission of the news of a Catholic attack on the Calvinist Prince Gábor Báthori in the Principality of Transylvania in 1610.¹⁹⁸ This uprising was led by the Catholic aristocrat István Kendi, whose goal – which was not achieved – was the re-establishment of the position of the Catholic faith in Transylvania. After that the Hungarian poet János Szappanos Debreceni, former court historian to Bocskai, wrote a long poem in Hungarian about this event. Szenci Molnár translated this text into Latin and sent it to Brederode on 25 August 1610, as he noted in his diary.¹⁹⁹ Either he or Brederode then sent this manuscript to Bongars in Bern, where it is still in his former library. This information aided the network in their assessment of the advance of the Catholic threat in the East.

The same happened in the Catholic camp, as for example the Habsburg court in Brussels was kept well up to date about the political developments regarding the Protestants in Hungary and Transylvania.²⁰⁰ The vast stream of Dutch information about Hungary and Transylvania with a confessional theme from the north was countered by anti-Calvinist prints inspired by the Habsburg propaganda from the Southern Netherlands. The Antwerp printer Abraham Verhoeven (1575-1652) published newsletters, broadsheets and other propaganda material from the Catholic Habsburg point of view almost weekly from 1605.²⁰¹ In 1620 he received a licence to deliver news about (among other countries) Hungary.²⁰² Indeed, Verhoeven paid regular and detailed attention to Hungary and Transylvania and often even illustrated this news. The purpose of these newspapers was not only to promote the cause of the Habsburg dynasty and the Catholics in Central-Europe, but also to attract young Flemish and Walloon soldiers to take up

¹⁹⁸ About this event, see: *Horn Ildikó: Őnagysága merénylői* (Gondolatok egy politikai összeesküvésről). In: *Historia manet : Volum omagial / Demény Lajos / emlékkönyv*. Szerk. Violeta Barbu és Tüdős Kinga. Bukarest 2001. 237-256; Later edition: *Tündérország útvesztői: Tanulmányok Erdély történetéhez*. Budapest 2005. 166-187.

¹⁹⁹ *Dézi, L.: Szenczi Molnár op. cit. Vásárhelyi 1976, p. 521; Vásárhelyi, J.: Eszmei áramlatok op. cit. 21-25.*

²⁰⁰ *Luc Duerloo: Dynasty and Piety: Archduke Albert (1598-1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars*. Farnham, England 2012. 232-266.

²⁰¹ *Stéphane Brabant: L'imprimeur Abraham Verhoeven (1575-1652) et les débuts de la presse "belge"*. Paris et Bruxelles 2009.

²⁰² *Ibidem*, 281. (28 January 1620)

arms against the Protestants in the east, as happened earlier during the Bocskai revolt. Another similar piece of war propaganda was a work in verse about the brave deeds of South Netherlands soldiers against the Protestants.²⁰³ The confessional war in Central Europe had become a part of everyday life in the northern and southern parts of the Low Countries.

The idea of a close link between political events in Transylvania and the Netherlands became one of the pillars of the Dutch-Ottoman diplomatic contacts at the beginning of the 17th century. This began with the appointment in 1612 of Cornelis Haga as the first Dutch envoy in Constantinople.²⁰⁴ Brederode was influential in the development of Dutch-Ottoman relations, as we can read in the reports which he sent to the Dutch Staten-Generaal.²⁰⁵ According to the content of Haga's instructions, the destiny of the Dutch Republic was closely connected to Ottoman and Habsburg policies in Hungary and Transylvania.²⁰⁶ His mission was to keep the Habsburgs tied down in Hungary and Transylvania so that fewer Habsburg soldiers and supplies would be available for a future offensive against the Dutch Republic. Haga conducted this programme by gaining support at the Ottoman court in Constantinople for the policies of the princes of Transylvania, primarily those of Prince Gábor Bethlen (1580-1629) after he came to the throne in 1613.

According to his instructions, Haga had to send all relevant information about political developments in Eastern Europe to the Staten-Generaal in The Hague, just as Brederode had. Further, Haga also actively promoted the dissemination of this information to the Dutch public, just as Brederode had done before him. In 1620 the theologian William Baudartius continued the previ-

²⁰³ *Denis Coppée*: Chant triomphal de la victoire a iamais memorable de Statlo, obtenue le 6. d'Aoust l'An M.DC.XXIII. par le Comte Tserclaes de Tilly, Baron de Marbais, Seigneur de Balastre, & Montigny, General de l'Armée de sa Maiesté Imperiale : Et de Son Alteze le Ser[enissi]me Electeur de Baviere, &c. Luik 1624; O. de Wree: *De vermaerde Oorlogh-stucken, vanden wonderdadighen Velt-heer...* Brugge 1625.

²⁰⁴ Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den Levantschen handel 1590–1826. I. Klaas Heeringa ed. Den Haag 1910. 155; Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek. Vol. X. P.C. Molhuysen – P.J. Blok eds. Leiden 1937. 319; *Alexander H. De Groot: The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic: A History of the Earliest Diplomatic Relations, 1610–1630*. Leiden – Istanbul 1978, revised edition. (PIHANS CCXXII.) Leiden 2012.

²⁰⁵ NL-HaNA, 1.01.02, inv. nr. 6016. Lias Duitsland 6016. (1602-1613) fol. 459-487.

²⁰⁶ Resolutiën Staten-Generaal Oude en Nieuwe Reeks 1576–1625. Vol. IV. N. Japikse ed. 's-Gravenhage 1915. 326

ously mentioned history of Van Meteren, based on his collection of political treatises, pamphlets, newspapers and the information that he received from Haga.²⁰⁷ Other authors, such as Nicolaes van Wassenauer, also used Haga as their source on Hungary.²⁰⁸ If, however, we look more closely at the content of the missives that Haga sent to The Hague and the work of Baudartius and Van Wassenauer, it turns out that Haga had in fact transmitted the propaganda of the Transylvanian court to the Dutch Republic. Since the political goals of the prince of Transylvania were in keeping with his instructions from the Staten-Generaal, Haga presented himself in the Netherlands as one of the advocates and spokesmen of Transylvanian interests in Constantinople. The Calvinist political message of the Transylvanian court was heard in the heart of European diplomacy through the diplomatic letters of Haga and Brederode.

Brederode's role as information broker on behalf of the Hungarian Calvinists changed after the Siege of Heidelberg in 1622. If we compare the content of the reports of Brederode and Haga on information about Hungary and Transylvania, we can see that after 1622 more information about Hungary and Transylvania reached the Republic from Constantinople than from Hanau or Heidelberg. This development led also to a change of attitude towards Hungary and Transylvania in the Republic, as can be observed from the literature published at that time. In 1623, Van Wassenauer published an expanded version in Dutch of Hieronymus Ortelius' History of Hungary, originally issued in 1613.²⁰⁹ This Dutch edi-

²⁰⁷ *Willem Baudartius*: *Memorien, ofte kort verhael der ghedenckweerdigheste gheschiedenissen van Nederlandt ende Vranckryck principalijck. Als oock van Hooghduitschland, Groot-Britanien, Hispanien, Italien, Hungarien, Bohemen en Savoyen, Sevenborgen, und Turkijen. Van den iare 1612 (daer het de vermaerde historie schrijver Emanuel van Meteren ghelaten heeft) tot het begin des iaers 1620.* Arnhem 1620, Zutphen 1620.

²⁰⁸ *Nicolaes Jansz van Wassenauer*: *Historisch verhael alder ghedenck-weerdichste geschiedenisse, die hier en daer in Europa, als in Duijtsch-lant, Vranckrijck, Enghelant, Spaengien, Hungarijen, Polen, Sevenberghen, Wallachien, Moldavien, Turkijen en Neder-Lant, ... voorgevallen syn.* 21 volumes. Amsterdam 1621–1635.

²⁰⁹ *Nicolaes Jansz van Wassenauer*: *Het vyfde Deel tvervolch vande Hongarische Oorlogen, in t'welcke ghetrouwelick verhaelt wert, wat grouwelijcke Velt-slaghen tusschen de Turcken, en Christenen, t'sedert den Jaere 1607 voorgevallen zijn: en voorts watter na de ghetroffen Vreede, in de Naburighe Coninckrijcken/ als Spaengien, Vranckrijck, Enghelant, Bohemen, Moldavien, Walachien, Duytschlant, Sevenberghen, ende Barbarien, tot den Jaere 1623, voorgevallen is.* Amsterdam 1623.

tion was published again with a different title page, but exactly the same content, which reads “Turkish Chronicle” in Dutch.²¹⁰ What happened in Hungary and Transylvania could sell well as Ottoman History in the Netherlands. The image of the Ottoman Empire was already merged with that of Hungary and Transylvania, thanks to the political background of Dutch diplomacy in Constantinople. We have already observed a similar development in the 1624 allegory of Prince Maurice with the Hungarian and the Ottoman figures, described above.

As we have seen, the common cause of True Religion created strong ties among the members of the Calvinist *respublica litteraria*. Szenci Molnár fled to Hanau after the Siege of Heidelberg in 1622. He was tortured after the Catholic troops invaded the city. He lost his house and library. Also the house and Brederode’s famous book collection was lost forever after the fall of Heidelberg. Szenci Molnár then went to the Netherlands in the summer of 1623, where he visited Leiden, The Hague, Harderwijk²¹¹, Rotterdam, Dordrecht and Utrecht, and received many gifts.²¹² During his stay in Leiden in 1623 he received from the preacher Festus Hommius a catechism written by Marnix van St. Aldegonde, which he translated into Hungarian; it was published in Kassa in 1625, but unfortunately no copy has come down to us.²¹³ This was his last work to have a connection with the Netherlands.

Szenci Molnár made many Dutch friends during his stay, but he also still enjoyed a close friendship with Brederode. The Dutch envoy did not have children, but he stood as godfather to one of Szenci Molnár’s foster-daughters, Magdalena Vietor. The girl even lived for a while in Brederode’s house, according to a letter from Szenci Molnár to Ludwig Camerarius. dated 3 March 1624.²¹⁴ In

²¹⁰ *Nicolaes Jansz van Wassenauer*: Turcksche chronyck. Oft de memorabelste oorloghen, ende ghedenckweerdighste gheschiedenissen, die in de heftighste velt-slaghen ende belegheringhen der Turcken ende Christen koninghen voor-ghevalen zijn. Midtsgaders ‘tghene in Hongarien, Moldavien, Walachien, Sevenberghen, Polen, Sweden, Moravien, Bohemen, Oostenrijck, ende in ‘t Pfaltzgraven lant, tot het teghenwordighe jaer 1623 toe, gheschiedt is. Amsterdam 1623.

²¹¹ *Vásárhelyi, J.*: Szenci Molnár Albert válogatott művei op cit.: 398-399; Album amicorum van E. Brinck, Vol. 2., Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag, fol. 124r. (27 June 1623).

²¹² *Dézsi, L.*: Szenczi Molnár op. cit. 86

²¹³ *Lajos Dézsi*: Szenczi Molnár Albert levelei Camerariushoz és Leodiushoz. ITK 18. (1918) 224-225; Catechismus Philips van Marnix nyomán. Szenci Molnár Albert ford. Kassa 1625[?] RMNy 1336.

²¹⁴ Szenci Molnár Albert válogatott művei. Judit Vásárhelyi ed. Budapest 1976. 624.

the same letter, Szenci Molnár wrote that he was going move to Transylvania to serve Bethlen. He also wrote about the translation of the *Institutio* which he was finishing, and his plans to travel to the Netherlands again, for which he wished to request a grant from the Staten Generaal.²¹⁵

The only work of Szenci Molnár's which has ever been translated into Dutch is his collection of writings *Analecta aenigmatica*.²¹⁶ It was added in 1608 to a new edition of the already existing and quite popular work of the German preacher Johan Heidfeld titled *Sphinx philosophica*.²¹⁷ Heidfeld's book was a collection of entertaining riddles taken from classical and early-modern literature, adapted to fit into the Protestant ideological framework. The edition of 1608 was translated from Latin into Dutch by Pieter Jacobi and appeared in 1612.²¹⁸ It was reprinted in 1627 and 1658.²¹⁹ These three Dutch editions and the five Latin editions in Germany make this the most popular work that Szenci Molnár wrote during his lifetime.

Szenci Molnár returned to Hungary for good in 1625 at the invitation of Prince Gábor Bethlen. He died in Kolozsvár in Transylvania, now Cluj in Romania, on 17 January 1634.

²¹⁵ Ibidem, 625.

²¹⁶ *Judit P. Vásárhelyi*: Szenci Molnár Albert Hollandul. In: Gesta typographorum. A hetvenéves Borsa Gedeon tiszteletére ajánlják e könyvet barátai és tanítványai. P. Vásárhelyi Judit szerk. Budapest 1993. 71-81.

²¹⁷ *Albert Szenci Molnár*: Analecta aenigmatica, ab ornatissimo viro, dn. Alberto Molnaro Ungaro auctori nuper admodum transmissa, quae huc sub calcem collocari necesse fuit, cum seriùs redditae essent, quàm ut quodque suae classis ac tribui adscribi potuisset, operis typographicis iam in excudendo libro occupatis. In: *Joannes Heidfeldius*: Quintum renata, renovata, ac aliquanto ornatius etiam, quam nuper, exulta Sphinx theologico-philosophica : promens ac proponens pia, erudita, ac arguta aenigmata sive scrupos, ex variis & quamplurimis, tum sacris tum profanis auctoribus sedulo comportatos, qui mirifice faciunt ad comparandam sapientiam, ad exercenda & acuenda liberalia ingenia, ad formanda iudicia ingenuamque delectationem philologorum omnium. Herbornae Nassoviorum 1608. 713-731. RMK III. 6118.

²¹⁸ *Johannes Heidfeldius*: Sphinx theologico-philosophica, ofte de schriftuerlijcke ende philosophische tijt-korter. Vertaelt door P. Jacobi. [Dirck Pietersz. Pers] Amsterdam 1612. 656-669. Universiteit van Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Amsterdam, 484 F 19.

²¹⁹ *Johannes Heidfeldius*: Sphinx theologico-philosophica, ofte de schriftuerlijcke ende philosophische tijt-korter. Vertaelt door P. Jacobi. [Dirck Pietersz. Pers] Amsterdam 1627. 656-669. Vrije Universiteit, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Amsterdam, XI.06563; *Johannes Heidfeldius*: Sphinx theologico-philosophica, ofte de schriftuerlijcke ende philosophische tijt-korter. Vertaelt door P. Jacobi. [Abraham van Blancken] Amsterdam 1658. Universiteit van Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Amsterdam, 759 F 8.

The story of the Image of True Religion shows us in a nutshell that the Low Countries played an important role in the early modern era as a crossroads for religious and political ideas and images, serving as an intermediary between different parts of the world, including Hungary and Transylvania. One of the most important travellers on these crossroads was Szenci Molnár, a wandering scholar and one of the foremost intermediaries between the Dutch and the Hungarians. His work gives us testimony for the relative openness of the Calvinist culture in Hungary and Transylvania to intellectual influences from abroad. The only surviving copy of Szenci Molnár's print of the Picture of True Religion in the Rijksmuseum is a visible and tangible witness of the fertile and rich intellectual contacts between the Dutch, Flemish and Hungarians in the early modern period.

1. melléklet Az Igaz Vallás Beza általi (1580), Wierix/Baltens általi (1576 után) és Custos/Szenci Molnár általi (1606) ábrázolásainak összehasonlítása / Appendix 1. Comparison between the depictions of True Religion by Beza (1580), Wierix/Baltens (1606) and Custos/Szenci Molnár (1606)

Beza, 1561 (1580)*	Wierix/Baltens, 1576	Custos/Szenci Molnár, 1606
Quaenam sic lacero vestita incedis amictu? Relligio, summi vera Patris soboles.	H. Dic pia religio. Supremi nata Tonantis. Aeterni cultrix officiosa Dei. Cur caput exornat stellis diadema refertu(m)? R. Sydereae ostendo conditionis iter.	Homo. Dic pia religio suppremi nata Tonantis, Aeterni cultrix officiosa Dei: Cur caput exornat stellis diadema refertum? Religio. Sidereae ostendo conditionis iter.
Cur vestis tam vilis? opes contemno caducas. Quis liber hic? Patris lex veneranda mei.	H.R. Cur vestis tam vilis? opes contemno caducas. H.R. Cur liber hic? Patris lex veneranda mei est.	H. Cur vestis tam vilis? R. opes contemno caducas. H. Cur liber hic? R. Patris lex veneranda mei est.
Cur nudum pectus? decet hoc Candoris amicam.	H.R. Cur nudum pectus? decet hoc candoris amicam.	H. Cur nudum pectus? R. Fecet [!] hoc candoris amicam.
Cur innixa cruci? Crux mihi sola quies.	H.R. Cur innixa cruci? Crux mihi grata quies.	H. Cur innixa cruci? R. Crux mihi grata quies.
Cur alata? homines doceo super astra volare. Cur radians? mentis discutio tenebras.	H.R. Cur alata? homines doceo super astra volare. H.R. Cur radians? Lustrum pectora luce nova. Quid docet hoc frenum? mentis cohibere furores. H.R. Cur tibi mors premitur? mors quia mortis ego. H. Martia quid prope te designant foedere rupto. Praelia et accensus mutua in arma furor:.	H. Cur alata? R. Homines doceo super astra volare. H. Cur radians? R. Lustrum pectora luce nova. H. Quid docet hoc frenum? R. Mentis cohibere furores. H. Cur tibi mors premitur? R. Mors quia mortis ego. H. Martia quid prope te designanti [!] federe rupto, Praelia et accensus mutua in arma furor?
Quid docet hoc frenum? mentis cohibere furores. Cur tibi mors premitur? mors quia mortis ego.	R. Vota metu simulans, et religionis amorem, Illicitas raptat Miles iberus opes.	R. Vndique vim patior, quamquam patiando triumphans, Ascendo summi coelica regna regna patris.
		T.B.

* We have used the text of the 1580 edition of Beza's *Icones*. BÈZE, *i.m.*, Emblema XXXIX. fol. Pp ij v.

2. melléklet Szenci Molnár magyar nyelvű, az Ember és a Religio közötti dialógusának angol fordítása / Appendix 2. The dialogue between Man and True Religion in Hungarian by Szenci Molnár and a translation in English.

Ember.	Mond meg ő szent Religio, Istentől született Leanzó: ki tiszled nagy hűségben, Az istens minden időben: Mire való ez Corona? Fejeoen czilaggal rak va?	Man	Tell me, oh holy Religion, Daughter born of the Lord, Whom you adore with great faith, in every time of the Lord, For what is this crown which adorns your head with stars?
Religion.	En mutatoc mennyorszagra Vtat, es az bodogsagra.		
[Ember]	Mire viselsz illi rossz rubat?	Religion	I point you the way to heaven and bliss.
R.	Vtalok mulando jokat.		
E.	Mit jegyez a könyv a kezeden?	[Man]	Why do you wear such bad gar- ments?
R.	Atyam törvénye ván ebben.		
E.	Mellyed miért meztelen?	R.	Because I hate vanity.
R.	Tiszta hívsegem ercz ezen.	M.	What is the meaning of the book in your hand?
E.	Mért könyöklesz az keresztre?		
R.	Kereszt nyngnt meg kedvemre.	R.	My Father's law is in it.
E.	Szep szarnyaid mire valoc.	M.	Why are your breasts naked?
R.	Menyben röpielni tanitoc.	R.	It means my pure faith.
E.	Miere vagy illi fenyeseggel?	M.	Why do you lean on the cross?
R.	Sziveket hintec uy fénnel.	R.	The cross is my comfort.
E.	Mit tanit ez zabolás féc?	M.	Your beautiful wings, what are they for?
R.	Gonosz szívnek ez qenyetéc.		
E.	Halalt hogy nyomsz labab alá?	R.	I teach how to fly to heaven.
R.	Vagyok Halálnac halala.	M.	Why are you in such light?
E.	Mit kell erteni ez hadon,	R.	I light the hearts with new light.
	Kornyüled ez Zurza vbron?	M.	And what is the lesson of this bridle?
R.	Mindenüt nagy erőszakot,		
	Szen ve dec soc boszsziusagot:	R.	The bridling of bad hearts.
	De szenvedven eröt veszec.	M.	How can you trample death?
	S' Istenhez meuyben folmegydc.	R.	I am the death of death.
		M.	How must the war be under- stood, which I see here around you?
		R	Everywhere I suffer great vio- lence and much revenge. But through suffering I gather strength and I shall ascend to the holy Lord in heaven.*

* Translation based partly on that of Jamie Tanis. *Jamie Tanis - Daniel Horst: Images of Discord – De Tweedracht Verbeeld. A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eighty Years' War.* Bryn Mawr 1993. 116.

3. melléklet *A Dialógus Religio és Bethlen Gábor fejedelem között magyar és angol fordításban / Appendix 3. Translation in Hungarian and English of the conversation between Religion and Gábor Bethlen.*

**Wahre Contrafactur unnd Abbildung/ deß Durchleuchtigen/
Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herren/ Herrn Betlehem Ga-
bor/ Fürsten in Siebenbürgen/ [et]c. : Sampt einem Gespräch
zwischen demselben und der Religion/ sampt dero zuget-
hanen gemeinen Landständen gegenwertiges Kriegswesen
betreffend.**

Die Religion redt den Fürsten Betlehem an:

O ach und weh/ Jammer und Noth/
 Daß sich erbarm der liebe Gott/
Die siebenköpsig giftig Schlang/
 Thut mir gar großen Ueberdrang/
Will mich mit ganzer Macht vertreiben/
 Und mein Lehr allenthalb aufreiben/
Die reine Lehr von Christ dem Herrn/
 Will sie mit Menschentand verkehrn/
So werden auch die Saerament/
 Mit Götzendienst verhöhnt und gschendt.
Das Gebet wird auf die Todten gricht/
 Da doch Gott lebt und Alles sicht.
Die Kirchen seind eim Jahrmarkt gleich/
 Da, was ihm glibet, kauft der Reich/
Wer Geld hat, kauft in gutem Preis
 Ablaß mitsamt dem Paradeis/
Hingegen muß die heilig Schrift
 Vom Papst verhaßt sein wie ein Gift.
Singt man ein Psalm/ liest man die Bibel/
 So erhebt sich bald mit Zorn groß Uebel.
Drum frommer Held Betlehem Gabor/
 Hilf mir Unterdruckten empor:
Errett die evangelisch Lehr/
 Wegen des Herren Christi Ehr.

Verhüt, daß nicht die römisch Meß/
Dein Glaubensgnossen all aufreiß/
Den ungeheuren Drachen wild/
Verjag mit deinem Schwert und Schild/
Erzeig hein Eifer bständiglich/
Und streit für dKirchen ritterlich.

Betlehem Gabor.

JA freilich weh der großen Noth/
Daraus uns helf der starke Gott!.
Was du thust slagen, slag ich auch/
Uns beißt zugleich ein scharfer Rauch.
So lang mir aber GOTT der HErr
Sein Gnad verleiht, will ich dein Lehr/
Von Christo meim HErrn und Heyland/
Handhaben in dem ganzen Land.
Der HErr, der mich erkaufte so theur/
Hilft mir wider den Drach ungueur.
So kommt dann auch herbei der Tag/
Daß Gott erhöret unsr Klag/
Wider den Papst und seine Rott/
Die Christum halten für ein Spott/
Weil mir Gott Lob dWahrheit bekannt/
Steh ich ihr bei mit gewehrter Hand/
Und widerstreb der falschen Lehr/
Die jetzt das Papstthum treibt so sehr.
Wer nicht eifert um Gottes Wort/
Der wird zu Spott beid hie und dort.
Wir sind Gott und dem Vatterland/
Zu dienen schuldig allesamt/
Drum wag ich nun mein Gut und Blut/
Der angefochten Kirch zu Gut/
Die Tyrannei und Falschheit viel/
Erlitten hat ohn Maß und Ziel/
Des der Papst allein die Ursach ist/
Wies offenbar zu dieser Frist/
Da Gott das fromm unschuldig Blut/

Zu rächen nun anfangen thut.
Wer nun sein Treu dem Herren Gott/
Erweisen will in dieser Noth/
Der tret zu mir und faß ein Herz/
Gott wird uns helfen ohne Scherz.
Für dKirchen und fürs Vaterland/
Versammle sich der gmeine Stand/
Und greif mit mir beherzt zur Wehr/
Erretten wolln wir Gottes Ehr.

Die gemeinen Landlent.

O frommer Fürst, o theurer Held/
Wie stehts so übel in dem Feld/
Der Feind hat roch fast Alls verhergt/
Und uns viel schöner Plätz zerstört/
Ja / das da ist ein grausam That/
Dem Türken er geschrieben hat/
Er soll mit seiner Macht geschwind/
Erwürgen unser Weib und Kind/
Und soll alsdann das ganze Land/
Ohn Schonen stecken in den Brandt/
Drum kommen wir zu euch getreten/
Und thun euch unterthänigst beten/
Wollen uns bei dem Vatterland/
Schirmen mit eurer Helden Hand.

Betlehem Gabor.

Ich weiß leider gar wol und gwiß/
Was man gebraucht für ein Beschiß.
Der Türk halt mehr auf Treu und Ehr/
Dann daß er sich zum Feinde kehr/
Der Feind mit seinen Esaniten/
Wird (wills Gott) gehn bald zu scheitern,
Gott wird sein liebe Christenheit/
Bhüten für folchem Herzenleyd.
Untreu sein eignen Herrn sehlägt/
Meineid hat manchen Starken geschwächt.

Darum ihr, meine Brüder treu/
Mit Euch verbind ich mich anfs Neu,
Für Gottes Kirch und Vatterland/
Nehm ich die Wehr in meine Hand/
Bleibt nur bei mir und folgt mir nach
Gott wird erzeigen feine Rach.
Dann es ist doch sein Sach allein/
Sein Wort und Kirch leidet Zwang und Pein.

Die Landsständ.

Die Lieb, die wir zum Vatterland
Tragen, wie euch ist wol bekandt/
Treibt uns, daß wir all Hab und Gut/
Euch antragen aus freyem muth
Gültbrief, Kleinot, Silber und Gold
Und was wir hand, sei euer Sold.
Führnd uns und gebt uns guten Raht/
Wir folgen euch all früh und spat
Mit euch, für euch wir sterben solln/
So ihr unr unser Haupt sein wolln.
Die Tyranny und großer Zwang/
Damit man uns thut Ueberdrang/
Ist gar zu groß/ der bitter Todt/
Ist nit so herb, als diese Noth.
Die Königs Mörder Lojoliten
Machen uns all zu armen Leuten/
Sie rauben Gott sein Lob und Ehr/
Und laden uns ein Last auff schwer.
Die Gwissen lant sie nicht frei bleiben/
Thätn uns gern in Türkei vertreiben.
Wie hand sie in dem Böhmerland/
Verübet groß Muthwill und Schandt.

Betlehem Gabor.

Gott hat der Böhmen Seussen ghört/
Und dero Feinde Gwalt zerstört/,

Ihr böse Rathschlug schön entdeckt.
 Und sie in großes Elend gsteckt.
Wer seim Nächsten ein Gruben grabt,
 Derselb gmeinlich zum erst drein trabt;
Auf ihrn Kopf der Stein ist gfallen,
 Also solls gehn reu Falschen allen!
Ich dank euch alln zugleich, ihr Herrn,
 Wir wolln uns widern Feind wol wehrn.
Auf unser Seit der HErr gwiß steht
 Und stets um unser Lager geht,
Sorgt und wacht für uns väterlich,
 Wie es am Tag ganz sichtbarlich,
Was uns vom Feint vor vielen Jahren
 Feindseliges ist widerfahren,
Das hat der HErr im Himmel gsehn;
 Drum läßt ers nit ohngstrafft hingehn.
Es hat Gott für die Böhmen gstritten,
 Die so viel Zwang und Gwalt erlitten,
Denselben ein König geschenkt
 Und Unglück auf ihr Feind verhängt.
Legt dHarnisch an und holt die Spieß,
 Zu streiten nun Niemand verdrieß!
Es berührt GOtt und das Vaterland,
 GOtt leistet uns Hüls und Beistand.

Laesa patienta sit furor

Gedruckt im Jahr als man zählt, 1 6 2 0

**„Nagyságos és kegyelmes” Betlehem(!) Gábor
erdélyi fejedelem úr etc.
valós tükörképe és beszélgetése a vallással
valamint a hívőül szegődött hazafiakkal a jelenlegi
háborús állapotokról**

A vallás így szól a fejedelemhez:

Ó, jaj, bú, bánat és fájdalom
Könyörülj rajtam Istenem
A hétfejű mérges kígyó
Hatalmas nyomást gyakorol rám
Minden erejével el akar üldözni
A tanaimat teljesen felőrölni
A Krisztus urunkról szóló tiszta tanításokat
Emberi ésszel megváltoztatni.
Így gúnyolják és gyalázzák a szentségeket
bálványimádással.

Az ima a halottaknak szól
hisz Isten él és mindent lát.
A templomok mint a vásárok
A gazdagok mindent megvesznek, ami tetszik nekik
Akinek pénze van, jó áron megvásárolja
a búcsúcédulát a Paradicsommal együtt.
Ezzel szemben a Szentírást
A pápa gyűlöli, mint a mérget.
Ha valaki zsoltárt énekel (Bibliát olvas)
Komoly baja lesz belőle.

Ezért jámbor hős Betlehem Gábor
segíts nekem, elnyomottnak:
Mentsd meg az evangélium tanításait
Krisztus becsülete kedvéért.
Óvj meg, hogy a római egyház
hitsorosaidat ne zabálja fel
a szörnyű vad sárkányt

üldözd el kardoddal és pajzsoddal
Légy folyton buzgó
És harcolj egyházadért lovagként.

Betlehem Gábor

Ó nagy a baj
segíts ki belőle erős Istenünk
Amivel harcolsz, azzal harcolok én is
Miközben csípős füst rág bennünket
Amíg azonban a mi Urunk Istenünk
kegyes hozzám, a tanaidat
Krisztus Uramról és Megváltómról
óvom az egész országban.
Az Úr, ki engem oly drágán megváltott(?)
segít engem a szörnyű sárkánnyal szemben
És eljön majd a nap, hogy Isten meghallja a panaszkodunkat
a pápa és bandája ellen
akik a kereszténységet semmibe veszik mert én ismerem az isteni
dicsőséget és felfegyverkezve állok ki mellette és megküzdök a ha-
mis tanokkal
amit a pápaság most erőteljesen hirdet.
Aki nem buzgólkodik Isten szavai szerint
gúny tárgya lesz mindenütt.
Istent és a hazát
mindannyian kötelesek vagyunk szolgálni
Ezért kockáztatom a birtokomat és a véretem
a megtámadott egyház javára,
mely a zsarnokságtól és hamisságtól sokat
szenvedett mértéktelenül és céltalanul.
Hogy a pápa egyedül az oka
mára már egyértelmű
Hisz Isten a jámbor, ártatlan vért
elkezdi megbosszulni.
Aki az Istenhez való hűségét
ebben a szükségben bizonyítani akarja
Álljon mellém, vértesse fel szívét
Isten mindenképp segít nekünk.
Istenért és a hazáért

gyűljön össze a köznép
és velem együtt bátran ragadjon fegyvert
hogy megmentsük az Isten becsületét.

Az egyszerű hazafiak

Ó, jámbor fejedelem, ó, drága hős
Mily szörnyű a helyzet a harcmezőn
Az ellenség majdnem mindent tönkretett
és sok szép helyet lerombolt
Igen (ez szörnyű tett)
írt a töröknek,
hogy minden erejével sebesen
fojtsa meg asszonyainkat és gyermekeinket,
hogy aztán majd az egész országot
kímélet nélkül lángba borítsa.
Ezért jöttünk színed elé,
és kérünk a legalázatosabban,
hogy a hazánk felett
tárt szét hősi, védelmező karodat.

Betlehem Gábor

Sajnos pontosan tudom
Mit használtak fel ellenünk
A török többre tartja a tisztességet és a becsületet
hogy ellenséggé váljon
Az ellenség hamarosan (ha Isten is úgy akarja) kudarcot vall
Isten az ő kedves kereszténységét
megóvja az ilyen szívfájdalomtól.
hűtlenül saját ura ellen harcol
hamis eskü négy erőset elgyengített
ezért veletek, hű testvéreim
szövetséget kötök ismét
Isten egyházáért és a hazáért
fegyvert ragadok
Maradjatok belem, kövessetek

Az Isten bosszút áll.
Hiszen ez az ő dolga egyedül
Az ő szava és egyháza szenved el a kényszer és a kint.

A honfiak

A hazánkat szeretjük,
jól tudod.
Ez visz rá bennünket, hogy mindenünket, amink van,
elhoztuk hozzád szabad akaratunkból
adóslevelet, ékszer, ezüstöt és aranyat
és amink van, legyen a te zsoldod.
Vezess bennünket, adj tanácsot
mind követünk téged mindenkor,
készek vagyunk veled, érted meghalni
azt akarjuk, te légy a vezetőnk.
A zsarnokság és a kényszer,
ami ránk nehezedik
olyan nagy, hogy a keserű halál
nem olyan rideg, mint ez a szükség.
A király gyilkos jezsuitái (lojoliták)
mindünket kifosztanak
megfosztják az Istent dicsőségétől és becsületétől
és nehéz terhet raknak ránk
nem hagyják, hogy tiszta maradjon a lelkiismeretünk
legszívesebben elüldöznének bennünket Törökországba
ahogy azt Csehországban tettek
gyalázatos tetteket elkövetve.

Betlehem Gábor

Isten meghallgatta a csehek sóhaját
és szétverte ellenségeiket,
A gonoszságot felfedte
És nyomorúságba döntötte.
Aki másnak vermet ás,
maga esik bele.
Kő hullott a fejükre,

ennek kell minden gazzal történnie!
Köszönöm nektek , uraim,
Védekezni fogunk az ellenséggel szemben.
Urunk biztosan a mi oldalunkra áll,
a mi táborunkat erősíti.
Legyetek óvatosak, éberek,
mert világosan látszik,
az ellenség sok évvel ezelőtt
milyen gazságokat tett ellenünk.
Az Isten az égben látta ezt;
nem hagyja őket büntetlenül.
Isten harcba szállt a csehek mellett is,
kik oly sok erőszakot szenvedtek el,
Királyt ajándékozott nekik
A szerencsétlenséget pedig az ellenségükre zúdította.
Vegyétek fel páncéljaitokat, hozzátok a dárdát,
senki ne lépjen vissza a harctól!
Istenről és a hazáról van szó,
Isten megvéd és támogat.

Türelem, ha túl gyakran meg van sértődve, düh lesz

Kinyomtatva a 1 6 2 0. esztendőben

**A true image and likeness of His Highness Prince
Gábor Bethlehem (!) of Transylvania, and his
conversation with Religion and the loyally serving
common people of the country concerning the
present state of war.**

Religion to the Prince:

Alack, alas, woe, grief and pain, God, be merciful unto me! The seven-headed venomous snake exerts mighty pressure upon me. It seeks to drive me out with all its power, completely to crush my doctrines, the pure teachings concerning Christ our Lord it would alter by the wit of Man. Thus the sacraments too are scorned and put to shame with idolatry. Prayer is devoted to the dead, whereas God lives and sees all. Churches are like markets, where the wealthy can buy whatever they wish. He that has money can buy at a good price an indulgence together with Paradise. By contrast, the priest hates holy scripture like poison. If anyone sings a psalm or reads the Bible it brings serious trouble for him. Therefore, Gábor Bethlen, pious hero, help me that am oppressed. Save the teachings of the Gospel for the honour of Christ. Prevent the Roman mass from devouring your faithful people and with your sword and shield drive off the monstrous savage dragon! Be ever zealous and fight in knightly fashion for your Church.

Betlehem Gabor.

I too struggle with what you do while a pungent smoke eats at us and nevertheless our Lord God is gracious unto me and I guard your teachings on Christ my Lord and Redeemer in all the country. The Lord, who has so dearly redeemed me, aids me even against the monstrous dragon, and the day is coming when God will give ear unto our complaints against the pope and his crew, who are bringing Christendom to ruin, because I acknowledge the glory of God and stand armed at his side, and I fight the false doctrines which

the priesthood now forcefully proclaim. He that is not zealous for the word of God will become everywhere an object of scorn. We are all bound to serve God and the fatherland. Therefore I venture my property and my blood for the threatened Church which has suffered much, without measure or cause, from tyranny and falsehood. That the pope alone is the cause is now universally agreed, for God is beginning to avenge the pious, innocent blood. He that wishes to prove his loyalty to God in this time of need, let him stand beside me and arm his heart, and God will help us in every way. Let the common people unite for God and the fatherland, and take arms courageously with me to preserve the honour of God.

The common folk

Oh pious Prince, oh beloved hero, how fearsome is the situation on the field of battle! The enemy has ruined almost everything and destroyed many lovely places. Indeed (a dreadful deed) they have sent for the Turks to strangle our wives and children quickly with all their might, so as then to put the whole country to the torch sparing none. We have therefore come before you and most humbly entreat you to stretch forth your defending sword above our fatherland.

Betlehem Gabor.

Alas, I know full well how we have been used. The Turks set more by honour and respect than by being hostile. The enemy and his Jesuits (God willing) will soon face disaster. God will defend his dear Christendom from such heartache. Faithlessness will triumph over its own master, the false oath will enfeeble many a strong man. Therefore, my loyal brethren, I shall ally myself to you once more, I shall take arms for God's Church and the fatherland. Remain with me, follow me, and God will reveal his vengeance. For vengeance is his alone, his word and his Church are suffering need and torment.

The common people

Our love for our fatherland, as you know full well, prevails upon us all to bring to you of our free will all that we have. Valuables, jewels, gold and silver, whatever we have, let them be your reward. Lead us, counsel us, we will all follow you at all times, we are ready to die with you and for you, we wish you to be our leader. The tyranny and force that oppress us are so great that the bitterness of death is not so cheerless as this deprivation. The king's murderous Jesuits (the loyalists) plunder us all, stifle God of his glory and honour and lay a heavy burden upon us. They do not allow us to have a clear conscience, and exile us to Turkey with the greatest pleasure, as they have shamefully done in Bohemia too.

Betlehem Gabor.

God heard the sighs of the Czechs and scattered their enemies, revealed the wickedness and sent them into wretchedness. He that digs a pit for another falls into it himself. A stone fell upon their heads, as must befall all evil-doers! I thank you, gentlemen, we shall stand against the enemy. Surely our Lord is on our side and will strengthen our camp, care for us in fatherly fashion and watch over us, for he can see clearly what evil things the enemy has done against us for many a year. God has seen this in heaven and will not let them go unpunished. God joined the fight on the side of the Czechs too, who had suffered so much violence. He granted them a king, and poured misfortune upon their enemies. Put on your armour, take up the spear, let none retreat from the fight! God and the fatherland are at stake, God will defend and support us.

Injured forbearance turns to righteous anger.

Printed in the year 1620

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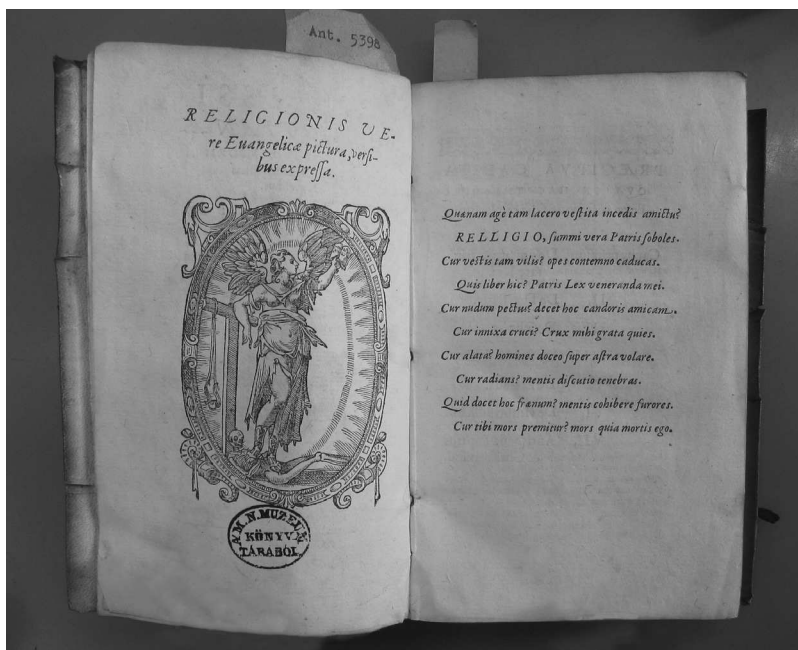
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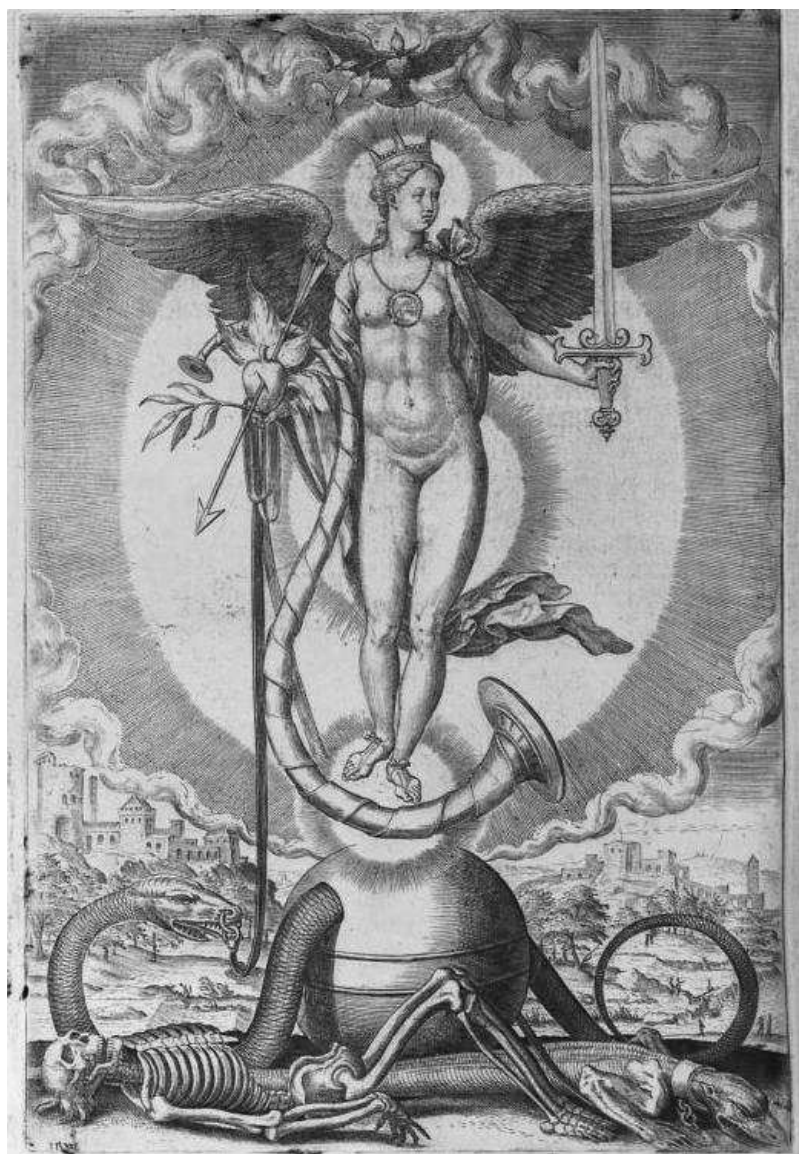
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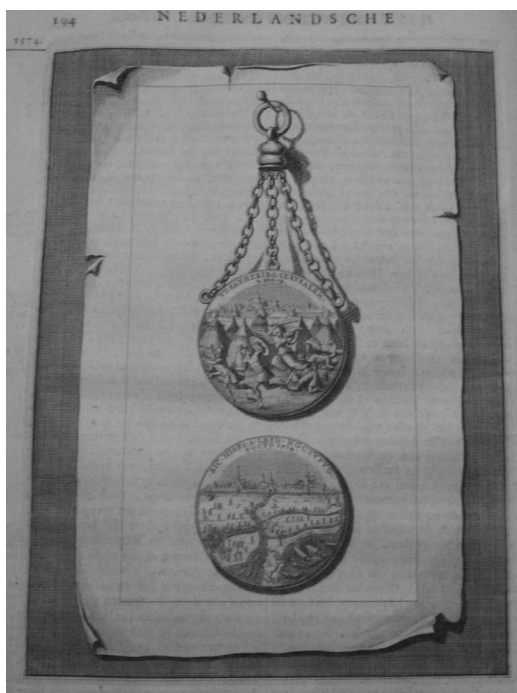
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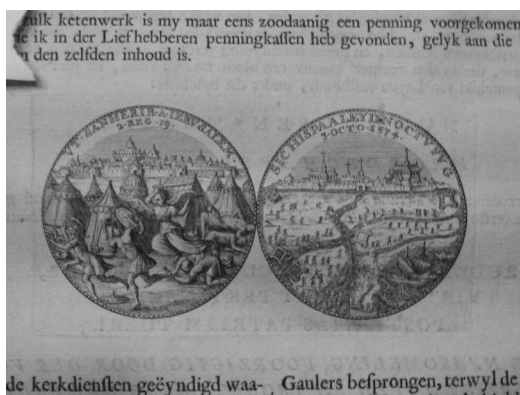
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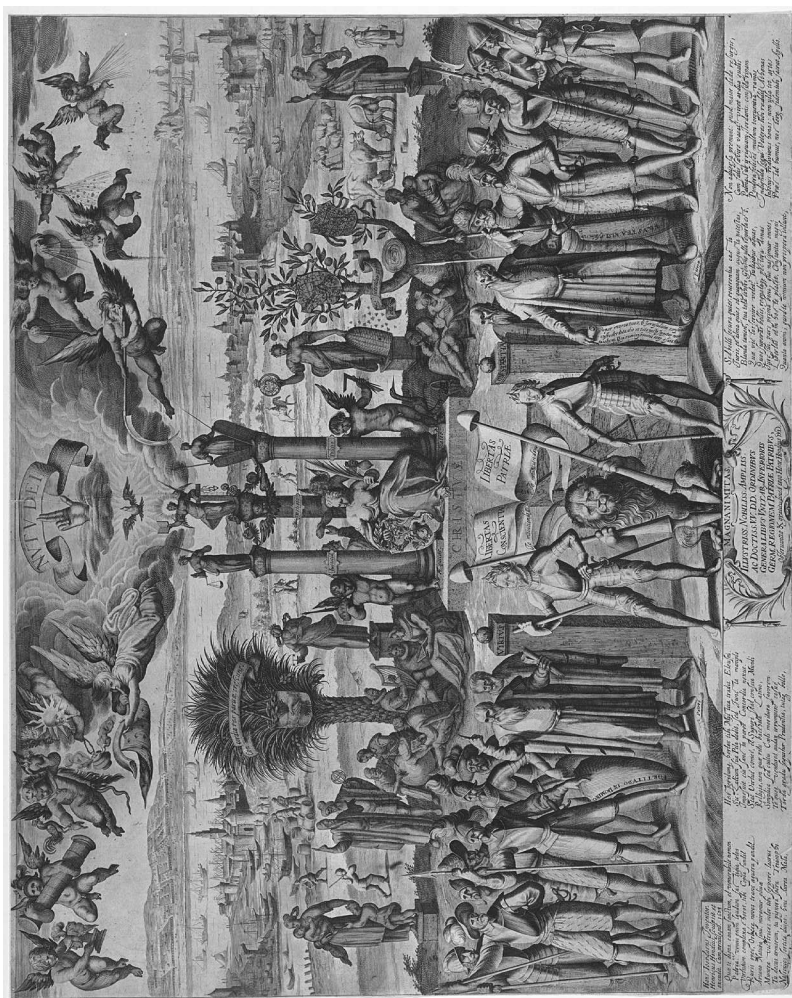
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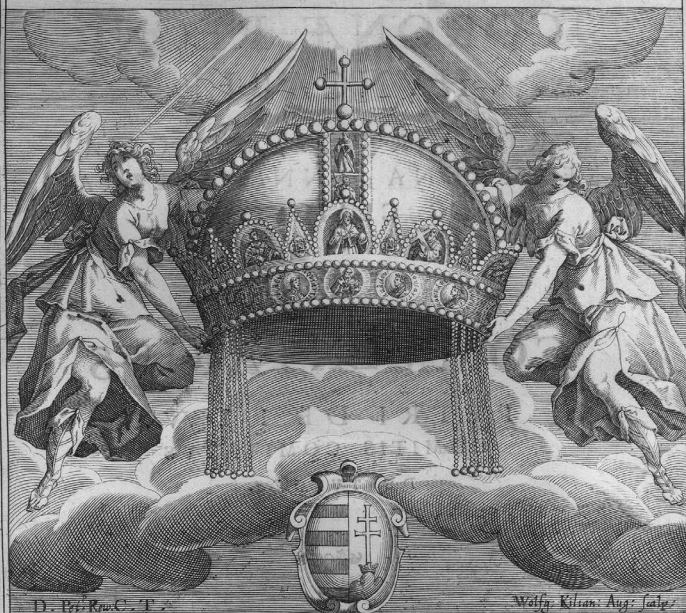


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title page, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár.

SACRA, ANGELICA, ET APOSTOLICA REGNI
HUNGARIÆ. CORONA.



Nobile cæligeno resplendens lumine sydus
Dignius anne polo! dignius anne solo!
Fulge sic patriæ: ne fati tera potestas
Te cæli rursus cogat adire lares.

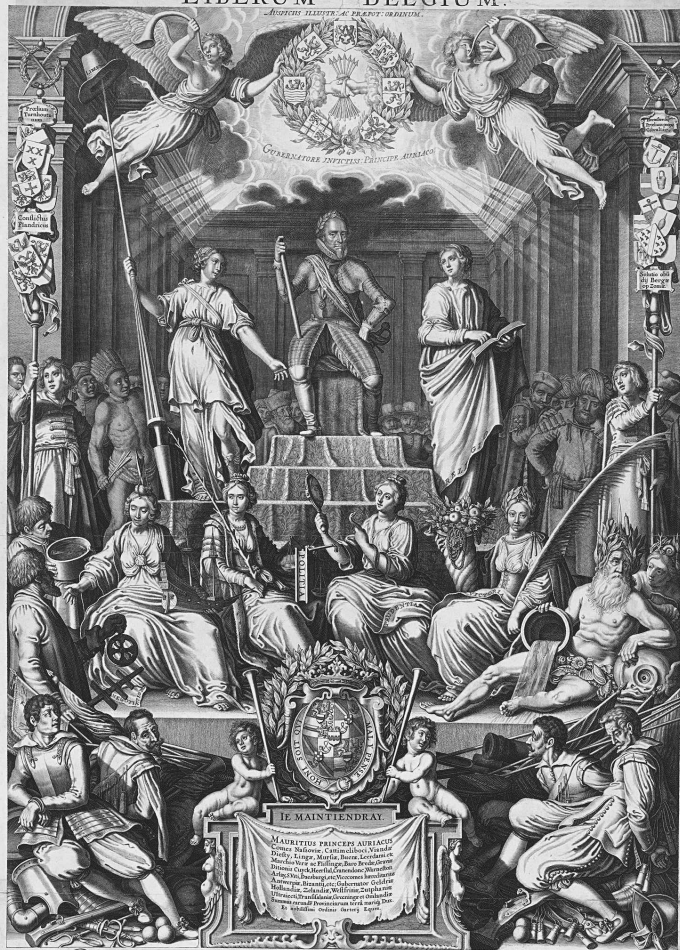
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Hispanæ domitor gentis, fortissime eorum
 Et quo nil cælo dignius orbis haberi;
 Sic valeas semper sic te sua fecerat ætas,
 Sic ad pat' tibi sidera ferus cas,
 Nec nisi succedat confors generis pygæe
 Sanguinis, et magno nata parente demus,
 Sic mancas terras: sic sc. dum clabitur hostis,

*Felicem hoc uno sentiat esse modo
 Si nuper, sperata ferocis dam mania liquit.
 Spe solâ advenas mania tuta tui.
 Ille meta, nos incipio certemus amore,
 Materies laudis, sed diuturna, tæc.
 Regem sêcant alij: plus est regnare sub illo.
 Sub quo libertas omnibus æqua datur.*

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Adrianus a Nieuwelandt Invenit et Pictor, Symon de Vos Sculptor, Anno 1630 1631

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About the author

Kees Teszelszky (Voorburg, 1972) is a research fellow in the research group “Hungary in Early Modern Europe” (OTKA NK 81948) in the department of Medieval and Early Modern History of Europe of the Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest under the direction of Prof. Dr. Ágnes R. Várkonyi. He graduated in Leiden (Political Science) and Amsterdam (East European Studies), and obtained his PhD in Groningen (2006). He is an expert on the Dutch and Hungarian heritage and researches into Dutch-Flemish-Hungarian relations in the early modern period. Among other publications, he is the author of *Az ismeretlen korona. Jelenlések, szimbólumok és nemzeti identitás*. [The Unknown Crown. Meanings, Symbols and National Identity.] (Pannonhalma: Bencés kiadó, 2009).

His publications can be viewed and downloaded at: <http://elte.academia.edu/KeesTeszelszky>

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